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Soph Petzelberger

Free Decolonized Education – Revisiting South African Utopias

A Collaborative Ethnography and Activist Film Project

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FREE DECOLONIZED EDUCATION

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Betreut durch: Regina Römhild

Redaktionelle Bearbeitung: Manuel Liebig

Institut für Europäische Ethnologie

Mohrenstraße 40/41

10117 Berlin

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Abstract

Beginning in 2015, the South African Fallist student movement grew rapidly and sparked uprisings across the whole country, calling for free decolonized education. In January 2017, when the movement was in a phase of slow retreat, Kagiso Mogotsi, a black South African history student and I, a white German anthropologist, spent one semester at the University of Pretoria collaborating on a militantly engaged film project. Changing Utopias? A South African Protest Documentary involved a number of Fallists, eager to utilize this particular moment to foster a new debate about South African utopias. Together we created a twenty minute film, exploring the links between the historical uprisings against apartheid and colonialism of earlier generations of black activists in South Africa, and the new generation of Fallist activists. With the help of narrative and frame analysis I later examined the activists' alignments to the struggle heroes, as well as to black radical feminisms and present LGBTIQA+ movements. While the motivational utopias of Fallism are still based upon equality, justice, decolonisation, and liberation from oppression, these old visions are being interpreted anew, words filled with fresh meaning and adapted to new concepts and practices of intersectionality. With utopia as a method, this thesis recognises the movement as an ever-changing and self-challenging conglomerate of the values, hopes and dreams of the so called Born Free generation of a post-colonial and post-Rainbow Nation South Africa.

Keywords:
utopia, film, Fallism, South Africa, frame analysis, decolonisation, intersectionality

Abstract (deutsch):
Die südafrikanische Studierendenbewegung Fallism nahm ihren Anfang im Jahr 2015 und entfachte mehrere Aufstände überall im Land durch dem Ruf nach freier dekolonialisierter Bildung. Im Januar 2017, zu einer Zeit in der sich die Bewegung in einer Phase des Rückzugs befand, verbrachten Kagiso Mogotsi, eine Schwarze südafrikanische Geschichts-Studentin und ich, eine Weiße deutsche Anthropologin, ein Semester damit, an der Universität zu Pretoria zusammen im Zeichen der militantly engaged anthropology mit mehreren Fallists einen Film zu drehen. Das Ergebnis trug den Titel Changing Utopias? A South African Protest Documentary. Der zwanzig minütige Film wurde von Fallists genutzt, um eine neue Debatte über südafrikanische Utopien anzustoßen. Die Verbindungen zwischen den historischen Aufständen gegen Apartheid und Kolonialismus früherer Generationen Schwarzer südafrikanischer struggle heroes und denen einer neuen Generation von Fallists wurden dabei besonders unterstrichen. Später untersuchte ich mit der Hilfe von Narrations- und Rahmenanalyse diese Aneignung jener historischen Kämpfe, sowie die neue Verortung der Fallists in black radical feminisms und LGBTIQA+ Bewegungen. Während ihre Utopien immer noch auf Gleicheit, Gerechtigkeit, Dekolonialisierung und Befreiung von Unterdrückung basieren, interpretieren Fallists die alten Visionen doch neu und passen sie den aktuellen

Konzepten und Praktiken der Intersektionalität an. Schließlich erkennt diese These, Utopie als Methode nutzend, die neue Bewegung eines post-kolonialen und post-Regenbogen Südafrikas als ein sich stetig wandelndes und selbst-hinterfragendes Konglomerat von Werten, Hoffnungen und Träumen der sogenannten Born Free Generation.

Schlagwörter:

Utopie, Film, Fallism, Südafrika, Rahmenanalyse, Dekolonialisierung, Intersektionalität

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1. Approaching the Fallist Movements

It was in October 2015, when a friend of mine sent me a link to a YouTube video of South African student protestors, demanding “free decolonized education” (Vocativ 2015). Like students all over the world who experience growing limitations of free thought and independent academia in times of capitalist privatisation, I was intrigued by the visions of the protestors and wanted to learn more about their motivation and aims (Juris/Khasnabish 2013). At the same time live footage of the South African police forcibly removing students with stun grenades and riot shields was circulating on social media, with some YouTube videos having already been retrieved over two hundred thousand times (Swingler 2015). Against the backdrop of the twentieth anniversary of South African democracy and burning up public debates about post-apartheid and postcolonial collective memory and democratic consolidation, students all over the country had started a protest campaign, leading to the biggest protest march in South Africa since 1994 (Bosch 2016:1; Schuhmann 2016)[1]. 1In this opening section of the thesis, my first approaches to the movement will be revised and reflected on, introducing the contested discursive spaces of *Fallist* representation.

1.1. States of Knowledges

In this opening section of the thesis, my first approaches to the movement will be revised and reflected on, introducing the contested discursive spaces of *Fallist* representation. Rising university fees, racist structures and incidents between white professors and black students, monuments of Apartheid and statues of colonial perpetrators on university campuses, and in general the prolonging economic inequality between blacks and whites, were among the many injustices called out by what would soon become the “Fallist” movement (Bosch 2016:1; Gumede 2015). When diving deeper into the discourse, I could make out three main groups fighting for definitions and discursive space: news agencies, scientists, and the student activists themselves. The latter have compiled an excessive body of articles and social media data, including several Facebook pages and Twitter hashtags. Fallists tend to use the term *movement* in relation to their multi-campus and international action under the banner #FeesMustFall – and several derivations and variations of Fallism over time, including #RhodesMustFall in early 2015, #RhodesSoWhite, #OpenStellenbosch, #TransformWits, #KingGeorgeMustFall, #NationalShutdown, #FeesWillFall, #ANCMustFall, #FeesHaveFallen and #PatriarchyMustFall (Booysen 2016b:2). Ensuing the activist's self-definition and the definition of social movements as determined by Glasberg and Shannon – “organizational structures and strategies that may empower oppressed populations to mount effective

1 A timeline of events, without any claim of completeness, can be found in Appendix A.

challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites“ – I will from here on refer to the Fallist movement or to several Fallist movements (Glasberg/Shannon 2010:1).

Commencing my approach to Fallism was an analysis of local, national, and international newspaper articles that covered the events, starting with #RhodesMustFall (RMF) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in March 2015. In effect, I could not fail to notice that on one hand there are various news agencies that have provided platforms for the students to voice their concerns, portraying Fallism as a multi-layered social movement with the capacity to “peel off the rainbow-coloured bandage and take a deep look into [South Africa's] festering abscesses” to achieve “liberation through education” (Disemelo 2015). On the other hand, a big number of articles written by leading South African and international newspapers tend to focus on headlines of so called “riot porn” (Duncan 2016b:162): Pictures of violence are dominant, accompanying flames and destruction, with close ups of angry black men and headlines such as “a choke-hold on South Africa's universities” or “lecture theatre targeted by arsonists” (Coovadia 2017; Etheridge/Gerber 2017)[2]. For deeper insights and explanations, the dissertation *Gefährlich oder gefährdet? Diskurse über Sexarbeit zur Fußball-Weltmeisterschaft der Männer in Südafrika* of German educational consultant Carolin Küppers and her detailed analysis of the historical backgrounds and political embeddedness of South African news agencies has been very helpful[3]. Küppers highlights the fact that some South African news agencies such as the *Mail&Guardian* or the *Sowetan* have been actively engaged in the anti-apartheid struggles of the past and remain true to their left-wing political agendas, while others, such as *The Sunday Times* or *News24*, are known to keep a politically conservative focus or attempt to catch the reader's attention with headlines that increase circulation (Küppers 2018:325–341).

When cross-reading articles covering Fallist actions, one could easily forget that South Africa is a “protest nation” by definition, with the freedom of assembly and the right to protest anchored in the post-apartheid constitution (Duncan 2016b:1; South African Government 2018:8). As South African media studies professor Jane Duncan points out, activists cannot rely on mainstream journalism in order to “arm themselves” with information about the right to protest and “what the police is allowed and not allowed to do” (Duncan 2016b:183). For example, the media portrayal of protest violence justifies the use of “paramilitary units” who are “trained to use maximum rather than minimum force as an operating model” (Duncan 2016b:140). They are sometimes brought unto the protest field “before the police can even try and access basic crowd-control” (Duncan 2016b:140–141). Although some journalists have called the attacks towards student protestors by the police “shocking and disturbing”, many newspapers have instead

2 Compare also other articles from the New York Times (Onishi 2015), The Guardian (Fairbanks 2015), or South African news agencies like News24 (Evans 2017) and CBS News (Patta 2016).

3 To increase visibility and transparency of sources, every author who made a strong impact on this thesis will be named in the text, together with their profession and country of origin.

portrayed the movement as inherently violent and therefore deserving of violence (Vos 2015). The debate on Fallist violence will be continued in the analytical section, especially in subsections 3. 3 and 3. 4.

Since I began to approach Fallism through research in 2015, a small number of scientific books and articles has been published, regarding the movement. The first book was printed in late 2016, titled *#Rhodes Must Fall. Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa.* It has been written by Francis B. Nyamnjoh, an anthropology professor at UCT, where the soiling and later bringing to fall of the much discussed statue of "diamond king" Sir Cecil Rhodes in April 2015 can be considered the first spark of what would soon become the national student uprising (Nyamnjoh 2016:3). Nyamnjoh elaborates on the persona of Rhodes and the reasons for the colonizer's statue to be put up at the university's entrance in the first place, albeit his book doesn't follow the movement as it continued (Nyamnjoh 2016). Later in 2016, the first and only print media anthology of the Fallist movement was published at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg (Wits), edited by political studies professor Susan Booysen and titled *Fees Must Fall. Student Revolt, Decolonisation, and Governance in South Africa* (Booysen 2016a). It brings together different South African scholars and various academic perspectives, most of them taking a complaisant stand towards the movement and providing a thorough timeline of Fallist actions until June 2016. In the introduction, Booysen offers "the notion of the leaderless revolution" and proposes that "the ideologies of feminism, the intersectionality of continuous societal injustice, black African consciousness and identity, and dismissal of liberalism and neoliberalism" were the core of the combination "of more immediate targets for non-negotiables in the mix of targets for Fallism" (Booysen 2016b:4,2–3). Later, she argues that the students succeeded in "pushing the ANC [African National Congress] out of its comfort zone", especially in 2015, when they united and told opposition party leaders bluntly that "their revolution was not for sale" (Booysen 2016c:35,47). Other articles in the anthology depict "The Roots of the Revolution" and the philosophy of Fallism as a result of discussions and events "challenging the transformation discourse on campus over the previous two decades" (Godsell/Chikane 2016:56). While the falling of Rhodes sparked a series of national protest actions and shifted the focus to the question of decolonisation, the March to the Union Buildings and its success of a zero percent fee increment in 2016 would not have been possible without the long years of building and networking of post-apartheid political student groups and protest structures (Godsell/Chikane 2016). In that sense, it is impossible to say when the movement started – or if it has ever ended.

Among the academic articles that have been published on Fallism, the 31st volume of the South African feminist journal *Agenda. Empowering women for gender equity* has been among those most inspiring to me. Its issues three and four were published in 2017 and discuss the intersectionality of Fallism, as well as questions of gender and violence in great detail and mostly from the perspectives of young scientists, combining academic expertise with their own personal insights into Fallist activism. Many of these articles will be quoted and analysed in subsection 3. 3. Notwithstanding, given the topicality of Fallism and its radical opposition against hegemonic discourses of equality and post-

apartheid justice in South Africa, scientific research published on it remains rare. Comparatively, approaching Fallism through social media platforms can be quite overwhelming. In another chapter of the Fallist anthology, psychologist Gillian Godsell explains how social media platforms became "sites for counter-storytelling": "Using personal stories, metaphors, videos, and photographs, students and workers were able to create their own counter-narratives interpreting their community and discourse" (Godsell/Chikane 2016:108).

Despite the limited access to the internet for the majority of South African citizens, "Twitter was central to youth participation during the RMF campaign, reflecting the politics and practices of counter-memory" in "discursive arenas" that pose little entry barriers to participation (Bosch 2016:1). Not only do student activists, allies and their opponents continue to tweet and discuss under an ever changing number of hashtags and on various Facebook pages, but even internet platforms such as Wikipedia have been used as spaces of counter-narratives and protests. Seemingly written by Fallists from Wits, the Wikipedia page *#Fees Must Fall* tries to provide a detailed timeline of protest events and different levels of state oppression, with an entire chapter focusing on "Police Brutality" (Wikipedia contributors 2015). In general, a considerable disparity can be observed between newspaper coverage and self-portrayals of the movement. To counter the earlier mentioned news agencies' "bias towards riot porn", manifestos and articles written by Fallist activists and shared on social media platforms emphasize on their movements as "non-partisan" and "intersectional" (Duncan 2016b:183; UCT: Rhodes Must Fall 2015; Fees Must Fall Western Cape 2016). The UCT Rhodes Must Fall Facebook page profile picture shows a sign that reads: "Dear history: This revolution has women, queers, gays, and trans. Remember that!" (UCT: Rhodes Must Fall 2015). Not to mention the self-description of Fees Must Fall at the University of the Western Cape (UWC):

> Fees Must Fall is an intersectional movement within the black community that aims to bring about a decolonized education. This means that the Fees Must Fall movement is located as a part of the larger struggle to eradicate the western imperialist, colonial, capitalist patriarchal culture" (Fees Must Fall Western Cape 2016)[4].

Alike the focus of the earlier mentioned journal *Agenda*, questions of gender and violence are two of the main lines along which Fallism is debated in the public discourse.

At the same time, an inter-generational conflict becomes visible when listening to politicians of the ANC on the one hand and Fallist activists on the other hand. Back in the days of Apartheid, the ANC had been defined as a terror organisation, fighting the government equipped with an armed wing (MK) of "liberators" (Fairbanks 2015). With the new constitution of 1994, a new government came to power, in which many of the former so-called terrorists were democratically elected as high ranking politicians. One of them, Blade Nzimande, current Minister of Higher Education, made a joke at a press conference related to Fees Must Fall (FMF) in 2015: "If they don't accept [our

4 More comparable sources of the movement's self-portrayal can be found on UCT's Twitter hashtag (#Disrupting_Whiteness @ DW_UCT 2015), or the Fallist Facebook page at the University of Pretoria, where I would later conduct my research (UP Fees Must Fall 2015).

proposition], we will start our own movement. Students must fall!" (Staff Writer 2015). With the historical mass shootings of students in the course of anti-apartheid student uprisings in Soweto still vivid in the public mind, he was strongly attacked for his statement by not only the press, but also many Fallist activists. The parallels between the Fallist movement and the Soweto Uprisings of 1976 can seem most noticeable and are often evoked by activists and journalists alike. To quote from the book of South African women's rights activist and politician Elen Kuzwayo, written in 1985:

> 16 June, then, has become a day of mourning in Soweto. It is a day when we remain at home to lick our wounds and comfort one another. Words cannot really convey what we continue to feel years after that dreadful day. Our hearts still bleed for our boys and girls who lost their lives, who were tormented and tortured in detention, who disappeared without trace, who have become wanderers and beggars in foreign countries - and all this, all this, triggered by conflict over the language the children were to learn in school (Kuzwayo 1985:44)[5].

The Soweto riots happened as a direct consequence of the Bantu Education Act 1953 and its further enforcements, stating that "There is no place for [the Bantu / black South African natives] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd" (quoted in: Moore:125). During the strikes and uprisings of black students inside the township of Soweto, Apartheid police killed at least 176 minors, with estimations going up to 850 and more, thousands wounded, hundreds detained (Boddy-Evans 2017). The Fallist alignment to these and similar uprisings and Apartheid oppressions will be examined and discussed in subsection 3. 2 and throughout this whole thesis.

1. 2. Standpoint and Militant Anthropology

Following the feminist and postcolonial tradition of making the researcher's standpoint visible, I would now like to take a moment to evaluate my role as a queer woman and a white German[6]. Closely linked to my identity and the privileges and disadvantages that come with it are both my role as a queer-feminist activist of the political left and my role as an anthropologist. When I first had the idea of commencing a research project with activists of South African Fallist movements, my interest was sparked by my own activism and moreover, a sense of connectedness. After I found out about the movement's apparent diversity and persistence, their collaborations with the universities' working staff unions and their success of mobilizing a big number of students all over the country for two years, my interest as an activist grew and sparked the idea to organise an anthropological field trip. My passion for postcolonial theories and intersectional gender

5 A deeper understanding of the Soweto Uprisings can be gathered through the lecture of Majeke (1994), Ndlovu (1998), and Brink (2001).

6 A galvanising introduction to Standpoint Theory can be found in the article *Standpoint theory, situated knowledge and the situated imagination*, written by Marcel Stoetzler and Nira Yuval-Davis (2002).

studies rounded up my decision to leave the Humboldt University of Berlin for a semester abroad, to study and research in South Africa. The University of Pretoria (UP) is located in the political centre and capital of the country, and, as I wrote in my application essay to the institution, is therefore a place with a unique history of struggle against colonization and Apartheid, resonating until today in its influences on the city. Linked to that history and its marks on the presence, UP had seen its own very particular Fallism in 2016, focusing on the Whiteness of the university, manifested in its language policy. In the end, #AfrikaansMustFall (AMF) activists had won a court case against UP management and its holding on to Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (Udeh 2016). This exceptional campus seemed a perfect location for my research.

Just a week before I departed, student activists in Berlin squatted the Social Science Institute at my home university to protest against the dismissal of the professor Andrej Holm and to demand academic political freedom, as well as activist networking spaces in a city stamped by gentrification (Kuhn 2017). Protests worldwide have located themselves within the discourse about the role and purpose of a university for students and for society as a whole. “Across the globe, students are re-imagining the functioning of a university. They are rejecting the dominant ideologies of managerialism, neoliberalism and commodification within universities” (Godsell/Chikane 2016:54–55). My sense of being linked to Fallism through common visions and activist connectedness called for an approach of “engaged” anthropology (Davis 2006; Juris/Khasnabish 2013). Then again, my whiteness and the herein born separateness and impossibility to fully understand, or even less represent any black empowerment movement, made an engaged anthropology inevitable (Ervin 2015).

White European researchers are responsible for numerous examples of shaping and contributing to colonial and neo-colonial politics and mindsets – especially in the field of anthropology, which has long been determined by imperialist attitudes and racist praxis (Gothsch 1983). According to British cultural theorist Stuart Hall, “looking at how it works” and describing it to an audience which is not looking contains in itself essentialism, reductionism, naturalization, and the focus on binary oppositions (1997:277). In the 1980s and 90s, such traditional ways of anthropological representation became the centre of its crisis and critique (Calzadilla/Marcus 2006). Postcolonial, anti-racist, anti-imperialist and feminist activists and scientists were among those who started the discourses about the “politics of representation” (Hall 1997:277). Long before anthropologists from the global North became aware of this crisis, and until today, this struggle over meaning continues and remains unfinished. “The story we had to tell could not be told for us by anyone else, no matter how gifted or well-intentioned” – is a famous quote written by the Nigerian literature classic Chinua Achebe (Achebe 1988:568). In a world with identity shaping power inequalities and their connected histories of exploitation, a neutral or objective view on *the Other* is impossible (Kossek 1997); (Alcoff 1991-1992)[7]. “Anthropologists do not represent other cultures, they invent them, construct them”, criticizes British

7 In his book *Orientalism*, Edward Said coined 'the Other' as a term that sums up the colonial process of constructing stereotyped and dehumanising images of marginalized people (1979).

anthropologist Henrietta Moore her academic field and retraces the processes of constructing the Other through discourse (Moore 1994:108). While they tend to believe in their own “automatic authority”, they have for centuries been constructing people in the global South “as unable to speak for themselves, being primitive, pre-literate, without history” (Clifford/Marcus 1986:10).

Counter-strategies attempted to intervene, transcoding negative images with new meanings. Feminist anthropology set out to question stereotypes by researching varying gender relations in different cultures, neglecting that the restricting images of women they knew would be the same everywhere or biologically inevitable (Moore 1994:10). At the same time though, white, imperialist feminist anthropology has been constructing the idea of a uniting world-wide struggle of all women against all their male oppressors and many feminist scientists and activists are still denying the importance of intersectional factors of discrimination, like race, class, or sexuality (hooks 1982); (Minh-ha 1991). This eurocentric view has been strongly challenged, for example by the Black Women's Movement in the U.S., proclaiming *The Boundaries of Sisterhood* and demanding an end to them being represented by privileged white feminists (Carby 1982; Mohanty 2003:337). All this critique inspires alternate ways of doing anthropological research. During the course of this thesis, the summary of these critiques will be called *postcolonial* or *decolonial anthropology*. Being aware of possible influences and discursive effects science has on imperialism and colonialism; racism and anti-racism; historical power differentials and their critique; on representation, identity categories, politics, and resistance; postcolonial perspectives can be used as “instruments of problematisation” (Reuter/Karentzos 2012:11; Kerner 2012). Instead of speaking for others, a feminist postcolonial anthropology seeks to support women to speak for themselves and listens to what they have to say (Visweswaran 1994:31). It denies the automatic authority of journalists, politicians and scientists, and instead argues for “experimental, polyphony, autobiographic, and other creative forms of representation” (Schein/Strasser 1997:26, translation by the author).

Looking at South Africa, one can find many examples of these feminist and decolonial counter-strategies in anthropology. In his book *Pioneers of the Field. South Africa's Women Anthropologists*, Andrew Bank describes not only the historical female dominance in the field, but also a shift from research done by Europeans to such conducted by South Africans themselves (Bank 2016). One very famous example, which has inspired and touched me, is the anthropology of Fiona C. Ross, titled *Bearing Witness. Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC] in South Africa* (Ross 2003). She was the first to examine in depth the gendered narratives of the TRC and explores how it's emphasis on Apartheid's “spectacular dimensions” had the effect of silencing and eliding black women's political activities and resistances (Ross 2003:128). With respect to these examples, engaged anthropology is the only anthropology that permits white Western researchers, such as myself, to contribute. During the cause of my applications and preparations, I was reading up on a debate on one of its newest and most radical branches and found inspiration in a statement, written by various “militant” artists, activists, and researchers (Bookchin/Brown/Ebrahimian/Enmedio/ Juhasz/Martin 2013):

> In other words, it is not enough to say that militant research is about studying radicals, their actions or their ideas. […] It entails the researchers' active and committed participation in the political movement of their subjects. As opposed, say, to participant-observation, which is a favoured method among ethnographers, militant research involves participation by conviction, where researchers play a role in actions and share the goals, strategies, and experience of their comrades because of their own committed beliefs and not simply because this conduct is an expedient way to get their data. The outcomes of the research are shaped in a way that can serve as a useful tool for the activist group, either to reflect on structure and process, or to assess the success of particular tactics (Bookchin/Brown/Ebrahimian/Enmedio/Juhasz/Martin 2013:8).

In the introduction of the *Militant Research Handbook*, militancy is defined as "a term of persistence, and therefore balance, rather than violence", quoting the famous words of Martin Luther King Jr. (Bookchin/Brown/Ebrahimian/Enmedio/Juhasz/Martin 2013:4). Ultimately, when respecting the demands of feminist postcolonial theory, Militant Anthropology can be considered as its most serious response, because it makes the following criteria its main mission: Instead of representing the Other, engaged anthropologists collaborate with others, or even become the Other in a militant way, "working hand in hand with the movements, being a part of the movements, supporting them through research" (Bookchin/Brown/Ebrahimian/Enmedio/Juhasz/Martin 2013:5).

1. 3. Film as a Tool

Mirrored in the structure of this paper is an approach of Grounded Theory, which I found suitable for conducting a militant research (Glaser/Strauß 2010; Bookchin/Brown/Ebrahimian/Enmedio/ Juhasz/Martin 2013). Forthwith, this subsection of the thesis will provide a further introduction to the methods and theories that I carried with me in my mental tool box, while approaching Fallism. Later, during the research, its theoretical framework has been developed further and new research questions emerged and became evident, calling for specific methods and reflections. Still, film as an anthropological method and utopia as a theoretical concept would continue to influence and shape the project dominantly. Given the prerequisites of connectedness and separateness described in the last subsection, how could I possibly support Fallism through my research?

Accompanying studies of feminist and postcolonial theories and literature has long been a certain frustration with the hegemonic ways of not only doing science, but also writing science. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House", as pointed out by US-American poet and activist Audre Lorde (Lorde 1984).

> Not only [...] were we constructed as different and other within the categories of knowledge [...] by those regimes. They had the power to make us see and experience ourselves as 'Other' (hooks 1996:3).

Bell hooks, another distinguished US-American author and activist, introduces a further effect of being continually (re)presented as the Other: internalized racism or internalized discrimination. Her book *Black Looks. Race and Representation* explains that representation constitutes identity through the construction of images, which are omnipresent not only in literature, but especially in advertisement and film (hooks 1992). Consequently, Gladstone L. Yearwood, a US-American professor of creative arts, argues that "we cannot understand the culture and traditions of African peoples by using the dominant white culture as its principal frame of reference" (2000:5). To Yearwood it seems obvious that "black people need to produce images of themselves and heroes of their own making, or signifying mechanisms that speak to the black community's social needs and articulate its cultural traditions" (Yearwood 2000:8). Similarly, hooks points out that film-making from a point of Otherness leads to and demands active unlearning of internalized discrimination. She explains how there is "power in looking" (hooks 1996:248). How observing, gazing, even seeing can constitute acts of domination, or resistance. They require a subject, which is looking, and are therefore proofing subjectivity and personhood. "Looking and looking back, black women involve ourselves in a process whereby we see our history as counter-memory, using it as a way to know the present and invent the future" (hooks 1992:131).

While usually focused on mainstream media and film, such critiques and politics have correspondingly challenged anthropological film-making. The old premises of ethnographic film – that the medium would give objective and direct insights into the world and mind of the Other – have exceedingly been exposed as "a special, racialized ideology about the logic of the apparatus as a construction of knowledge" (Rabinowitz 1994:18; Crawford 2010). Hence, who is the audience in mind? Who is standing behind the camera, who is writing the script, cutting the material, presenting the film? Standpoint theories have been proven just as important as the constant developing and questioning of new kinds of film-making (Tobing Rony 1996:216). Transparency and reflexivity, the core demands of feminist and postcolonial standpoint theory, become absolute necessities (Minh-ha 1991). All things considered, provided that anthropologists strive to battle hegemonic discrimination, their films could actually become a tool to fight hate and self-hate. They could engage in the "healing [of] imperialized eyes", instead of reconstructing the Other as object to be consumed by a privileged audience (Kaplan 1997:285). In fact, it appears that "white subjectivities [...] can also be destabilized when exposed to the gaze of the Other, since this is a gaze to which such subjects have not traditionally been subjected" (Kaplan 1997:xix). Or, as the US-American feminist film-maker and film studies professor Fatimah Tobing Rony points out:

> The third eye turns on a recognition. The Other perceives the veil, the process of being visualized as an object, but returns the glance. The gesture of being frozen into a picturesque is deflected. In a articulating economy of seeing and representation, there are moments in early ethnographic cinema, which halt the flow of evolutionary narrative: the Historical collapses into the Ethnographic, the Savage parodies the Civilized (Tobing Rony 1996:213).

Ultimately, when there is power in looking, there is power in film-making. In its comparatively young age, it seems easier to experiment with, easier to engage through it in polyphony and creativity. Experimenting with text on the other hand – and especially

with academic writing, as the old dignified rule set it is still been constructed as – seems rather difficult and even less welcome (Nichols 1991:5). Images are at the heart of our construction as subjects and perhaps for that reason images are also impugned as imprecise, unscientific, “unmanageable things in need of subordination and control” (Nichols 1991:9). And yet images are not quite as unmanageable as they appear.

In its mission to respond to feminist and postcolonial critique, a participatory, or even militant approach to anthropological film-making has emerged in the last years. Given the lack of a common name or definition of this last genre, tools, actors, and stages are constantly subject to negotiation and change. Nevertheless, what all its strains have in common is the aim of the film-maker to engage with the field of research. Argentinian anthropologist Sarah Pink defines *Visual Applied Anthropology* as such:

> [It] is practised across private, public and NGO sectors, as well as in serendipitous situations, in contexts that are shaped by global, national, transnational, institutional, local and individual agencies. To accommodate these diverse contexts involves a broad understanding of social intervention. This might range from using visual practice to empower research participants with new levels of self-awareness, promote a specific cause to a target audience, or provide decision-makers in business or policy contexts with 'evidence' that will inform their work (Pink 2007:11).

Pink makes clear that her goal is not to observe and represent the Other for academic purposes, but rather to “give back” to her informants by using “visual anthropological theory, methodology and practice to achieve applied non-academic ends” (2007:19,6). Since her book was published in 2007, one could describe it as an inspirational act to a new academic trend. In applied anthropology, the longing for and performing of objectivity is not only challenged or questioned, but radically abandoned. Not only is the standpoint of the researcher made visible, she even “promote[s] a form of social intervention”, actively influencing the field (Perez 2007:231).

By the same token, EJ Milne et al. published the *Handbook of Participatory Video* in 2012, bringing together different anthropologists and activists to share their experiences with engaged research. While the vision of “inspir[ing] social action through video” remains quite similar to the one of applied anthropology, participatory research extends its focus on community production (Shaw 2012:225). Through the close interactions with communities, participatory video methods builds on “the strengths of local actors”, ensuring that knowledge can be generated “in a participatory manner and shared” to influence decision makers “at local, national, and global levels” (Plush 2012:69). To emphasize this point, the *Handbook of Participatory Video* provides examples, notably *The Village That Made A Film* (High/Singh/Petheram/Nemes 2012). Moreover, participatory research puts an further topic in focus: visual post-production. Ideally, participants of participatory research would be encouraged and given the opportunity to be directly involved in “the editing of their own film” (Mak 2012:194). If only some of the people involved in the research lack the understanding and skills needed for the editing process, participatory video should “democratize technology” and provide enough time and workshops to enhance the “self-empowerment process” for all (Mak 2012:201; Plush 2012:79).

In the same year, US-American art historian Trevor Stark published an article on Cinema in the Hands of the People. Chris Marker, the Medvedkin Group, and the Potential of Militant Film. In this article he explicates how the film-maker Marker produced a documentary on striking workers in France between 1967 and 1971. Long before the recent debates on engaged anthropology, Marker held “film workshops at the factory”, “interviewing workers, and attempting to involve them directly in the production of a film about the factory occupation and its consequences” (Stark 2012:127,122). Stark is among the first who coins the term militant research when quoting Marker on his motivations: “Maybe you believe that the audiovisual language, like the written language, requires years of study, but we are convinced that this is not the case [...] We have so many things to say and we have a new way to say it, a new medium, a new weapon” (Stark 2012:133). One year after the publication of that article, after participating in a weekend conference in New York, a group of “visual culture artists, activists and academics” came together to publish the earlier mentioned Militant Research Handbook (Bookchin/Brown/Ebrahimian/Enmedio/Juhasz/Martin 2013:4). Hence, all other possible postcolonial and feminist criteria for anthropological film-making; the audience in mind, the perspectives of the film, the presenting of differences and complexities, is going to be influenced by the militant engagement of the researchers and their participants. As a result, anthropological film-making has thoroughly been debated as a fairly new and promising tool, and even a new anthropological research method on its own (Walsh 2012:254; Näser 2014; Davis 2003). Compared to the tools of academic text writing and publishing, the audience of a film can expand drastically and, in addition, include the people on stage.

Though, while constructing a throughout promising trend, all these utopian ideals can lead to new frustrations and confrontations, not just to mention a “complex relationship between ethics and aesthetics” (Grimshaw/Ravetz 2009:23). Setting aside the problems anthropologists face when working and thinking outside the box – like a lack of funding, or the rejection by colleagues and their institutions – there are also challenges emerging on the site of the researchers and participants themselves. For once, if “the video became an object in the world that they wanted to use in their own pedagogical and activist efforts”, how could it still be considered scientific (Walsh 2012:254)? Must film always be combined with written text for it to be called anthropological (Näser 2014)? Can film actually be a method of research, or can it only ever be a record of the research methods, which remain traditionally anthropological and still need anthropological interpretation (Davis 2003)? In *The Handbook of Participatory Video* the British activist Shannon Walsh writes: “The ownership over the process, the learning, and the development of knowledge are significant outcomes of this kind of research practice” (Walsh 2012:254). Defining film-making as research practice is another attempt to broaden the boundaries of science.

The utopia of coming together equally, sharing knowledge, working towards a common goal, seems to be worthy of commitment. In reality though, researchers and activists continue to struggle with its implementation. To critically and transparently evaluate standpoints remains just as important as the confrontation with all the small and big failures to meet these utopian goals (Walsh 2012). Moreover, what happens to

copyright and agency after the publishing of the film (Schleser 2012)? Can anyone own the product of militant researches, or even use them for an academic career in anthropology? All of these questions and challenges came up in discussion and praxis during the protest film project carried out by Fallist activists at UP and myself – some of them so prominently that I will further elaborate on them in the following section 2. While the laid out utopian ideals of militant research and film-making would remain the inspiration and essential vision of the project, my failures to meet them and the structural impossibility for them to ever be met were baggage I had to learn to live with, while continuously striving to do better.

Searching for inspiration, I found a small number of films covering Fallist protest actions. Instantly, I fell in love with the YouTube series *The Foxy Five*, written, directed and played by a group of black South African women and trans and focusing on issues of feminism and intersectionality with both humour and militancy. They have devoted one episode to Fees Must Fall and are mentioning Fallism throughout the entire series (The Foxy Five TV 2016). Furthermore, there has been the anthropological documentary *Fuck White Tears* by German researcher Annelie Boros, whose work I view critically due to it being very much focused on the those white tears while remaining in a self-reflecting, but rather unchallenged mode of representing the Other (Boros 2016). Although produced by the mainstream television channel MTV South Africa, I consider the most detailed and balanced documentary on Fallism to be *The People Vs. The Rainbow Nation*. Streamed in several episodes, documentary maker Lebogang Rasethaba manages to explain and look beyond recent protest actions, portraying a country that is still deeply divided and in the very midst of a new wave of decolonisation (MTV South Africa 2016). The one hour documentary manages to show the movement in all its diversity, contradictions, and strength – scripted but never distant. However, while Rasethaba seems close to a militant engagement with his object of representation, the earlier laid out utopia of research and film is traded for perfect pictures and glossed over by conservative film-making professionalism. There clearly is a script and this script is not written by the activists themselves, but by a television channel.

1. 4. Utopia as a Method

Even though I was aware that my questions and applicable theories would develop and change through my interactions with the field, Fallist utopia caught my immediate attention when approaching the movement. When capitalist exploitation and inequality are narrated to be without alternative, utopias provide counter-narratives and reasons to fight (Wright 2012). Henceforth, what exactly is the utopia of Fallism and how do students manage to construct a unifying sense of utopia throughout an entire country? Then again, if utopias differ widely, how do Fallists manage to construct a utopian framework able to unite them all under one hashtag, such as #FeesMustFall? If it really is “free decolonized education for all”, how is this education imagined and what do students think needs to be done in order to path the way (UP Fees Must Fall 2015)? How exactly are Fallists planning “to eradicate the western imperialist, colonial, capitalist patriarchal culture”, or is

this namely a utopia, as in a dream which will never come true (Fees Must Fall Western Cape 2016)?

According to British author Thomas More, who coined the term in his Latin novel of an island in the year 1516, it could be both “the good place (eutopia)” or “no place (utopia)” (quoted in: Goodwin/Taylor 1982:3). The US-American philosophers Goodwin and Taylor state that “utopianism signifies either the birth or the death of political optimism. The nature of utopian thinking has changed historically, depending on whether or not utopia was regarded as realizable” (Goodwin/Taylor 1982:3). They agree with the US-American sociologist Erik Olin Wright, claiming that “socialism has been the utopian counterpart to dystopian capitalism since the 1830s” (Goodwin/Taylor 1982:127; Wright 2012). While public discourse and political culture “portray utopia as an impossible quest for perfection whose political consequences are almost necessarily totalitarian”, it can better be understood as a method; a critical tool to reflect the limitations of the present and to manifest a future of “human flourishing” (Levitas 2013:7,xi). Forthwith, different social theorists, such as Karl Marx, Karl Mannheim, Herbert Marcuse, or Edward Thompson, have used the term, revealing quite contradictory positions and deploying “historical shifts of the utopian imagination” (Levitas 2013:4).

The work of British sociologist Ruth Levitas has been most influential to my research. Her argumentation endorses “a more open definition of utopia as the expression of desire for a better way of living and of being” (Levitas 2013:4). In Levitas' opinion, this analytic rather than descriptive definition “reveals the utopian aspects of forms of cultural expressions rather than creating a binary separation between utopia/non-utopia. It allows that utopia may be fragmentary, fleeting, elusive” (Levitas 2013:4). Her definition of utopia as concept “mirrors an existential quest” which is expressed in literature, music, drama and art (Levitas 2013:4). Additionally, Wright's concept of “real utopias” has also been shaping my preliminary research questions about Fallism (Wright 2012). He argues that “a real utopian holds on to emancipatory ideals without embarrassment or cynicism but remains fully cognizant of the deep complexities and contradictions of realising those ideals” (Wright 2012:3). Essential to *real utopia* is the intention to implement real political changes in the here and now, to path a way one step at a time and to define those steps towards a certain utopian goal (Wright 2012). By doing so, social movement adherents engage in an “imaginative mixing of ideas and activities” (Jamison 2012:164). Consequently, anthropologists have started to treat “the future as cultural fact” (Appadurai 2003). Indian ethnologist Appadurai has asked his colleagues “to see the capacity to aspire as a social and collective capacity without which words such as 'empowerment', 'voice', and 'participation' cannot be meaningful” (Appadurai 2003:289).

> It needs a full-scale debate about the best ways to design humanity in what could well be its last chapter in the mysterious story of nature as a whole. In this sense, the anthropology of the future and the future of anthropology may well provide the best critical energies for one another (Appadurai 2003:5–6).

At the same time, Appadurai stresses the conception of this capacity being not distributed equally, with wealthy and powerful people having navigated “the map of its norms to explore the future more frequently and more realistically”, and shared this knowledge with

one another “more routinely than their poorer and weaker neighbours” (Appadurai 2003:188).

Notwithstanding this theory encompasses a vibrant, extensive and ever-growing body of feminist and postcolonial science fiction and utopia. Circuiting the temptation of going into detail, I will name briefly those works whose essence has crystallized into my understanding of what utopia is and what it can do. To begin with, German comparative literature professor Angelika Bammer argues that, in terms of a literary genre, one might perhaps not start with More, but with Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies*, written a century before *Utopia* (Bammer 2015). For Bammer, feminism itself is intrinsically utopian. It is driven by anticipation, by the recognition of patriarchy as an unnatural state, and by the belief in and pursuit of an alternative (Bammer 2015). British women's studies professor Jennifer Wagner-Lawlor defines feminist utopia as follows:

> The invention must be an intervention, a coming toward or across that comes between, and creates a new oppositionality – more like an apposition. Its figuration is not a field of war, but a field of play. It is not a singular place, nor even a certain time, but a particular situation that opens up both space and time. A tangential dimension. A landing place that is also a launch pad, or a portal. Octavia Butler, Nalo Hopkinson, Ursula LeGuin, Doris Lessing, Jeanette Winterson, Toni Morrison, Fatima Mernissi, Shahrnush Parsipur, Rajaa Alsanea: each gestures toward such a discovery (Wagner-Lawlor 2013:186).

According to Wagner-Lawlor, feminist utopia is always a *real utopia*: “The search for utopia has not meant the pursuit of impossible desires. It has meant the pursuit of ways in which desire remains possible” (Wagner-Lawlor 2013:185). In feminism, future is an action. It is “the process of creating through the act of imagining” (Wagner-Lawlor 2013:186). Or in the words of Canadian novelist Margaret Atwood: “Understanding the imagination is no longer a pastime or even a duty, but a necessity; because increasingly if we can imagine it, we’ll be able to do it” (Atwood 2004:517).

While the canonical themes of postcolonial utopian literature speak to an undeniably privileged access to education and “imaginative resources”, its significance lies “beyond the fantasy world of distant planets, times and species, in the very real circumstances of colonization, oppression, and the need for future thinking” (Smith 2012:194; Ashcroft 2017:206). Following the argumentation of Australian media and arts professor Bill Ashcroft, postcolonial utopianism is understood as “offer[ing] a particularly intense rhetoric of the future characterized by its engagement with imperial power” (Ashcroft 2017:4). Therefore, similar to the just discussed realness of feminist utopias, postcolonial utopianism “arises from an unrecognised but powerful reality: that successful resistance is transformative, and transformation rests on the belief in an achievable future” (Ashcroft 2017:4). While the capacity to aspire comes with privilege; as those maps of the future might be easier to navigate by the powerful, the utopias of the oppressed not only allow fundamental critique of the status quo, but “embedded in the dream is a hunger for its own reification, a demand that imposes an obligation on reality” (Schulz 1998:270). Utopia is at the core of decolonial struggle (Ashcroft 2017:202).

Postcolonial utopianism is inescapably related to place, “not only the specific place of colonial encounter, but also in the ambivalent spaces of heterotopia, archipelago and border zones”, the spaces of change and possibility within which social dreaming takes

shape (Ashcroft 2017:206–207). Another key feature of postcolonial writing and thinking, is its relatedness to time. While future thinking is "always about the present", decolonial strategies "require revisioning the allegedly secured lessons of the past in an imaginative pattern of *remembering the future*" (Pordzik 2001:172). In my quest for postcolonial utopia, I got hooked on the science fiction novels of Nnedi Okorafor, a professor of creative writing born in the United States to two Igbo immigrant parents. In her award-winning trilogy *Binti*, a young woman leaves home to travel to a university on a distant planet, finding adventures and her own fortitude. A tense and intimate coming-of-age story in space that negotiates racism and sexism, while simultaneously imagining a future where honesty, thoughtfulness, self-empowering spirituality, freedom, and equality prevail (Okorafor 2015).

Zimbabwean writer and editor of the ground-breaking anthology *AfroSF. Science Fiction by African Writers* Igor Hartmann deliberates in its introduction:

> SciFi is the only genre that enables African writers to envision a future from our African perspective. Moreover, it does this in a way that is not purely academic and so provides a vision that is readily understandable through a fictional context. The value of this envisioning for any third-world country, or in our case continent, cannot be overstated or negated. If you can't see and relay an understandable vision of the future, your future will be co-opted by someone else's vision, one that will not necessarily have your best interests at heart. Thus, Science Fiction by African writers is of paramount importance to the development and future or our continent (Hartmann 2012:7).

In South Africa, Mia Aderne, Liam Kruger, Ashley Jacobs, and Mandisi Nkomo, just to name a few, are underpinning the growing science fiction trend with comic, military, apocalyptic, space opera, cyberpunk, biopunk, aliens, time travel, and more, as well as fairly liberal mixings thereof (Hartmann 2012). Dystopia and utopia often become intertwined, morals and norms are being questioned and the future remembered as an ode to a long-forgotten past – in South African Science Fiction, everything is in flux and everything is possible.

Ultimately, anthropological theories of utopia have been connected to an engaged form of research: It can be "applied in the form of advocacy – to help a people resist change or bring about changes that they desire" (Ervin 2015:221). All these concepts have shaped my research interests and the questions asked in the interviews, as I will further elaborate on in the following section.

> For whatever contested images of a better future emerge, they will, if regarded as predictions or as demands, necessarily fail – partly because of the limits of our imagination, partly because of the limits of our power. [Anyway], we must live in this world as citizens of another. What is required of us is both specific to our distinctive situation, and the same as for every earlier and later generation: Mourn. Hope. Love. Imagine. Organize (Levitas 2013:220).

2. Inside a Protest Film Project

After introducing topic and toolbox, the structure of my Grounded Theory research was further developed upon my first weeks in Pretoria as described. Throughout section 2, the conditions and collaborations that made this research possible will be laid out, together with obstacles I encountered and a summary of my first impressions and field notes. The relationship between my film partner Kagiso Mogotsi and me will be described, as well as the challenges and benefits of our working process. Subsection 2. 2 will give an overview of the development of refining the film, subsequent the compilation of a questionnaire, and finally the editing process. During this time period, the conclusive research question has been born, as previewed in the title of this paper. Last but not least, subsection 2. 3 will conclude with the reactions to and reflections on the film during our public presentation thereof and afterwards. Activists' feedback and UP management's censorship attempts will be discussed. By and large, this whole section is about my time in Pretoria and the formation processes of a militant research and film project, the development of *Changing Utopias?* and its immediate aftermath.

2. 1. Conditions and Collaborations

At the University of Pretoria, the year 2016 was marked by campus shut downs and hostilities between students, the police, and campus security guards during the protests against Afrikaans as a language of instruction. #AfrikaansMustFall followed the big Fees Must Fall March to the Union Buildings in 2015, where thousands of students, staff members, workers, and allies had joined to meet the president, enforcing a zero percent fee increment[8].

Inspired by these successes, UP students took their claim of AFM in front of the national court and ended up winning the case (Udeh 2016). Being backed by the tradition and reputation of being a wealthy and still highly segregated university, UP had been holding on to entire courses being taught in Afrikaans and thereby maintaining white-only classrooms by excluding black, coloured, and generally all non-Afrikaans speaking students (Bradlow 2017). Despite there being a number of black South African students who do speak Afrikaans as a result of Apartheid language politics, many of them would feel triggered and offended by UP's conventionalism of “the language of the oppressors” (Willemse 2017).

Amid the protests of 2016, there had been several violent incidents between black and white students of UP, mainly led on by the EFF Student Command on the one side, and Afriforum Youth, a white Afrikaaner nationalist group, on the other (Simelane 2016). These clashes and the images they produced – of white Afrikaaner students beating up black students and vice versa – circulated around the world and led to a complete

8 More on #OutsourcingMustFall and the involvement of campus personnel in Fallist protests can be found in Chapter 10 of the Fees Must Fall anthology, edited by Booysen (Ntshingila 2016).

shutdown of the university for several weeks (Malingo 2016). During confrontations with the university's security forces, many black protestors got severely injured. While UP management later made an example of the persecution of AMF students, working hand in hand with the police, putting Fallists into prison, it turned a blind eye to the violence and disruptions perpetuated by white students of Afriforum Youth (Pundit 2017). The racial divide, still visibly manifesting at the University of Pretoria, got solidified during the cause of 2016 – overshadowing the final adoption of a more inclusive language policy. Instead of taking the chance of deconstructing its legacy, UP management installed itself as an "Apartheid institution" once again (Jansen 2009:3). As Jonathan D. Jansen, South African professor of education, argues in his work on racial segregation on campus:

> "[UP had] fulfilled its white nationalist duty with considerable fervour for more than a hundred years. This was the place where the loyal civil servants of the white states were steadfastly churned out [...] It was the site of the production of Apartheid dominees (ministers of religion), trained to find theological justification for white rule. It was were Apartheid's anthropologists were trained to assign ethnic and racial predictabilities to human cultures" (Jansen 2009:3).

Considering its tradition, UP appears as an institutional and emotional minefield of race, "a site where powerful structures of feeling – anger, hatred, pain and envy – are inevitably at play, and subject to strategies of sublimation and disavowal" (Steyn 2001:171).

When I arrived at Pretoria and wandered around campus grounds for the first time in February 2017, I was taken aback by the maximum-security procedures at the gates and the numbers of guards and surveillance cameras. Later, I learned that hundreds of black students had been suspended because of AMF protest actions in the last semester and many of them were not allowed to re-enter UP at all (Pundit 2017). My first field notebook entry reads:

> "I have been here for only a few days now and so far, it seems rather impossible to get in contact with Fallists. There is one Facebook page of FMF at UP, but I haven't seen any posters, signs, or student groups presenting themselves on campus. The Facebook page doesn't line up any events, but posts mostly articles on white privilege and violence (or yesterday, a 'cheerful' video clip of a white man driving himself off the road). But where are the activists and what are they doing? How underground is this? There are a million rules and regulations. Students are basically not allowed to do anything on campus, yet alone assemble in 'more than five', as the official rule book reads. Maybe because I developed a certain sense for these things through my own activism, I feel like there is a great tension underlying everything, waiting to break out. And I see how little black and white people socialize. There are almost no mixed student groups hanging out here. What about my own whiteness? Are black Fallist activists even going to talk to me?" (notebook excerpt, 09.02.2017)

The level of racial segregation I encountered on campus and in all of Hatfield, the university district of Pretoria, confused and shocked me in its clear manifestations in relationships and space: Even though students would sit in the same classrooms, know each other's names and participate in the same debates, they would separate again after class, having their lunch in different places, sleeping in racially segregated student houses, partying in separate bars and clubs, mingling only on rare occasions and never

coincidently[9]. I was put into Tuksdorp, the university's residence inhabited by international exchange students, as well as Master and PhD graduates. Albeit still divided into racially segregated houses, at least the residence was mixed as a whole, allowing the seldom exercised possibility of casual intermingling.

In retrospect, regarding my worries on how to approach the Fallist movement in these segregated spaces, I would like to acknowledge how lucky I was: In one of my seminars, *World History in Film*, the lecturer Dr. C. asked us to shoot a small documentary on a topic we could choose freely[10]. In the same course, I met Kagiso Mogotsi. As a black history student from Mamelodi, the biggest township of Pretoria, she wanted to make her film project about an inter-generational dialogue between an older generation of anti-apartheid Freedom Fighters and the so-called Born Free Generation, leading the new Fallist protests. She allowed me to join her, which was the starting point of our interdisciplinary, inter-racial and international collaboration. In her opinion, much of the public discourse on Fallism had been circulating around the question of possible similarities between the struggles of the past and the protests of the present. Living together with her grandmother Anna, who would later also participate in our film project, Kagiso confirmed what many of the articles cited in subsection 1. 1 hypothesize: that the older generation of activists often felt offended by the apparent ungratefulness of their children and grandchildren. Many of them would not understand why, rather than commencing their hard earned right to study, the Born Frees would disrupt classes – and the entire country – with their fancy worded protest actions and their hipster hashtags.
Inter-generational conflict in South Africa stands in a particular tradition. The colonial settlers disrupted the clan order of, for example, the Zulu Kingdom, a former monarchy in what is now South Africa, enforcing their own colonial patriarchy by treating all black men, kings and clan members like inferiors, which led to inter-generational warfare (Carton 2000). The impacts of colonialism and Apartheid on inter-generational relations in South Africa have not been sufficiently studied yet. To provide a definition, the most common conceptualization of generation within African anthropology has been a genealogical relation of kinship (Reynolds Whyte/Alber/van der Geerst 2008:3). Danish ethnologist Susan Reynolds Whyte has suggested that in the face of “war, AIDS, and economic deterioration”, the connections between different generations and the bonds inside the family remain “massively important in Africa” (Reynolds Whyte/Alber/van der Geerst 2008:20). While it is important to criticize this hypothesis, mainly for its neglect of colonial and neo-colonial oppression as one of many other possible factors of significance, as well as its inherent neocolonial construction of a universal African experience, it points to the concept of “inter-generational contracts”, often used in social science to refer to “the implicit expectation that parents will care for their children until they can care for

9 Comparatively, Lameez Alexander and Colin Tredoux have published a spatial analysis, discussing the interdependency between structural racism and informal segregation and space in South Africa (2010).

10 After critical reactions to the film, Dr. C. asked us to remain anonymous in any future publications of the documentary, or related texts. I have changed her name accordingly.

themselves, and that children will support their parents when they can no longer support themselves" (Reynolds Whyte/Alber/van der Geerst 2008:7). Due to a lack of social security provided by the South African state and a privatisation of education and health care, many students are indeed very much dependent on the sustenance of their families. Chinese ethnologist Els van Dongen writes in his book *'That was your time, this time is ours!' Memories and intergenerational conflicts in South Africa*:

> A common explanation is that of the 'violence complex', of different forms of violence making a complex web of domestic violence, community violence and state violence. The battering of women and children was and is common and is explained as the legacy of an oppressive patriarchal state system [...] Younger people resist beating, verbal violence and enforcement in the same manner as their parents resisted the Apartheid system: by disobedience, talking back and revolt (van Dongen 2008:196–197).

Van Dongen further explains the potential and reality of inter-generational South African conflict, by stating that:

> The elderly tried to make a life for themselves, manoeuvring between oppression, disadvantage, exploitation and opportunities. Many lived in a culture of silence and refrained from political action and the freedom struggle. Younger generations therefore tend to view them as 'enemies within' who threaten to push them into a submissive and powerless position again [...] The elderly also employ memory as a strategy to ensure their position. Remembrance is 'doing memory', a moral activity in which memories are a reference point from which to judge the behaviour and morality of the younger generation: the elderly see themselves as moral guardians (van Dongen 2008:183–184).

Given these possible explanations of inter-generational conflicts erupting around the Fallist movements as described by Kagiso, we later decided to go deeper into the historical dimensions and implications of *doing memory* in the postcolonial South African context, leading us to the *frame approach*, which I will elaborate on in subsection 3. 1.

Being embedded in the seminar, we were allowed to borrow UP equipment and got regular feedback on our work. Moreover, it was Kagiso's friend who introduced me to Milis'uthando Mbete, who then became our first interviewee. Milis'uthando had been one of the student leaders during the FMF protests of 2015 and 2016 as chairperson of the ANC Youth League Ward 56. She became fond of our project and later introduced us to a number of activists, starting off a snowball effect. As I am still loosely connected to each of them via WhatsApp, I was able to ask for their favourite mode of representation in this particular thesis and will now introduce them accordingly, while adding information on the surroundings and conditions of each session. Our very first interview was held with Reeyah, who had been involved in FMF as an artist and activist. We sat down in my shared Tuksdorp kitchen and discussed art as a form of empowerment, in Fallism and in her work with township kids. After this narrative interview, which functioned partly as a trial run for Kagiso and me, we both agreed on a semi-structured approach and came up with our interview questionnaire, which we later remodelled slightly while keeping it as a guideline for subsequent interviews. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix B. Nevertheless, it always remained essential to us to keep the flow of our interviews open and to apportion enough time and space for stories, ideas, or arguments relevant to our interviewees or for answers to questions we had not thought of asking.

For the second interview, we met with Milis'uthando and put up the camera and voice recorder in my room to be completely undisturbed. We would continue to film most interviews inside my tiny Tuksdorp room, the activists and interviewer seated on the bed with the respective film partner operating and watching over the equipment, sitting across the bed in the room's only chair, sometimes jumping in and adding to the conversation. Given the lack of suitable spaces for a project like ours and the need to provide a secure and comfortable setting, the privacy of my room seemed to create a feeling of intimacy and togetherness, with most of our interviews lasting for over an hour, due to enriching sidetracks and insightful detours. Here we interviewed Karabo, who works as an administrator and was an activist of UPrising, the organisation that played a leading role in the FMF movement at UP, as well as the activist Bolanle, who has asked me to be speak of her with a fantasy name, “so that it can represent the plural narratives of women” (WhatsApp conversation, 28.02.2018). Bolanle held a leadership position in SASCO, an African international student association, seeking “to ensure the destruction of capitalist relations of production and the ushering of a socialist society” (SASCO 2018).

Occasionally and due to issues of practicality or time management of our interviewees, Kagiso and I would also conduct interviews on UP campus grounds.

Especially misplaced felt the meeting with Marcus Mashinini, an EFF activist who had just been expelled from UP because of his engagements in Fallism. He had complied with our request rather spontaneously and seemed rushed in this environment, giving his words a sense of urgency and repression. In contrast, our session with Tholi, a student activist engaged in feminist networking, seemed fairly relaxed, as we met on campus grounds, yet on a lonely Sunday where the only annoyance was posed by a bee which we later realized had drowned out minutes of the interview with its humming sound. We met Sylvia Graham, the signatory of Fees Must Fall Memorandum 2015, in her UP campus office, which she held as a research associate, and conducted the interview in one of the building's conference rooms[11].

As our film project progressed, the collaboration between Kagiso Mogotsi and me was both challenging and fruitful. While Kagiso's deep and personal knowledge and relatedness to South Africa's history, Apartheid rule and resistance, gave way to meaningful questions, she also provided an important sense of politeness and interview etiquette. Equipped with an anthropological toolbox and film-making know-how, my experiences in activism, political theory, and queer-feminist thought allowed me to be an empathetic interviewer and listener. Kagiso never got tired of explaining and narrating historical and present events to me, enabling me to better understand the political landscape and granting me insights into everyday black working class struggles with an utmost honesty and patience. In relation to my position as a privileged white European academic, there is a long list of personal and professional failures when it comes to the difficulties of working together as a team and the utopian endeavour of meeting as

11 The Memorandum was designed by all the leading groups of the Fees Must Fall Campaign at UP in 2015. The thirteen demands that were listed here have been signed publicly on campus, by the vice chancellor and president of the university and representatives of the student activists. The Memorandum can be found in Appendix C.

equals. Time management was always an issue, as the interviewees were very busy with work, studies, and activism, and Kagiso had to take care of her grandmother before and after classes, who in return paid for her studies. I on the other hand was housed in five minutes walking distance to campus, with black cleaning personnel from Mamelodi taking care of everything except my grocery shopping. My German scholarship paid for everything. It was literally my only task to focus on my studies and the film project, while getting to know new friends and going on travel trips over the weekends. Kagiso on the other hand had to travel each day for over an hour to get from Mamelodi to campus, where we would meet to discuss and edit our film due to the fact that all our equipment and editing computers were located there. Still, it happened that I got annoyed with her for being late or for missing an interview or a day of editing. It felt as if our dynamics were pushing me into a team-leading role, having not only time and energy to spare, but also a big self-esteem grown from a lifetime of privileges and years of experiences as an activist. Whenever I became aware of the power inequalities between us, I would try to question them, to step back and to listen, to move away from my ideas of punctuality and reliability – though in retrospective I wish I would have been more patient and less focused on my own vision of an outcome. Nevertheless, in the end we were both content and proud of our project and I like to believe that our friendship will outlive our partnership by many years to come.

Next to Kagiso and myself's appearance as an international, inter-racial team – enabling a level of trust from Milis'uthando and other Fallists that I by myself would have been unlikely to obtain – it was the film that functioned as a door opener and a connector. The promise of a public platform served as a trade-in for the activist's collaboration. I am not sure if all of them would have met up with us, shared their stories with us, and became part of the project we initiated, if it would not have been for the film and its inherent possibility to represent their movement once more to a broader and international public. Neither do I know if their narratives would have been different ones or differently told, without the influence of the camera. What I know is how grateful I am for their trust and for all they have shared with us. Forthwith, just like the final cut of our film, this paper is dedicated to them and Kagiso and their, as I hope, approving critique of the same.

2. 2. The Origin of the Research Question, the Process of Mutual Film Editing

After days of discussion and debate, Kagiso and I agreed on the main structure and intention of the film, as well as the title, *Changing Utopias? A South African Protest Documentary, Located at the University of Pretoria*. We realized soon that finding activists of the older generation who were open to participate in our film posed a big challenge. What made the project so interesting to us, its focus on an inter-generational dialogue, was exactly what the older activists in our reach often found uncomfortable or even outrageous. When Kagiso mentioned on the phone that there might actually be similarities between Fallism and anti-apartheid struggles, one woman hung up on her,

speechless, and when Kagiso called her back, she told her that she did not want to be associated with violence against the state. Except for Anna, Kagiso's grandmother, the only other activist of an older generation who agreed to an interview with us was pensioner and former MK officer Bam. Having met him at an ANC conference, it was again Milis'uthando who introduced us. We came together at his home and talked for more than two hours, listening to his numerous stories and discussing Fallism as well as recent political events. In the end, he said that he would like to present the film to his grandchildren and was delighted and touched by our sincere interest in his political opinions. Encouraged by this event, Kagiso and I continued to search for activists of former anti-apartheid struggles – but remained unsuccessful.

While my preliminary research questions of utopia mentioned in subsection 1. 4 found their answers during the cause of the project and will be analysed in subsection 3. 2, my new and final research question emerged through the praxis of our search for interviewees: *How do Fallist activists at UP frame their movement as within a broader historical and political struggle for South African utopia?* It seemed evident that the alignment of Fallism to anti-apartheid activism was rather off-putting for many older activists. Their uneasiness and the inter-generational conflict, which incited Kagiso and my idea for the film, also sparked my underlining research interest. Frame analysis, common in social movement theory, appeared to be the most suitable concept to analyse our film and interview material and will be extensively introduced later on in subsection 3. 1. Ultimately, it can be said that the origin of my final research question grew out of the frustration and failure of not finding more older activists to interview.

Nevertheless, thanks to Milis'uthando's trust and support, we were able to conduct twelve interviews during the course of two months – with ten Fallist activists of the Born Free generation as well as former MK officer Bam and Anna, who had worked as a township nurse during Apartheid. Envisioning our final product, Kagiso and I agreed to both watch through all hours of film and note down speeches and phrases that we felt were putting key arguments in a nutshell. We made sure that each interviewee would feature in the film, but gave more speaking time to those who brought in new topics or provided revealing explanations, like the definition of “decolonisation” by Bolanle (Changing Utopias 11:17–12:48)[12]. We also invited all of our interview participants to join us in our editing process or to just stop by the cutting room at any point. None of them came, which we were actually quite relieved about, given the limited time and endless discussions we already had to endure amongst the two of us. The film is divided into three main parts, each of them featuring activists of both generations: Activist's definitions of utopias; the utopias of FMF; and lastly the question if these utopias have changed or not. Later on, it took many more rounds of mutual film viewings, decisions, and debate over seconds of data. To cut it down to twenty minutes seemed almost impossible. In the end, we tried to find a balance between catchy phrases and insightful speeches, to keep the audience's attention while not remaining solely at the surface. The focus on

12 The audio transcript of the whole film *Changing Utopias? A South African Documentary, Located at the University of Pretoria* can be found in Appendix E. A list of transcription keys can be found in Appendix D.

aesthetics and entertainment, though being part of any film making, would make it interesting to write another paper about all the parts we ended up cutting out and why.

As we had tried to ask similar questions to each interview participant while keeping the flow of the interviews open and narrative, we were able to compile what we called collages of answers to each of our three big questions or topics. The film begins with a retrospective of the Soweto uprisings in 1976, which we cut from an older South African documentary, followed by a television news clip on Afrikaans Must Fall at UP in 2016. Exactly forty years before AFM, the student uprisings of an older generation had ignited the flame of revolution – they were protesting against Afrikaans as the sole language of instruction and for free education – and we compiled the images in a manner that emphasized these similarities. Supporting the self-depiction of Fallist activists, while our film would only ask questions, the answer we intended was clearly implied from the very beginning: No, the utopias have not changed. Or as Sylvia argues in the last part of the film:

> "There is absolutely nothing wrong with what we are doing. They did the same thing. But now because they're older, and they are (...) in a sense more comfortable and, you-know, life becomes more acceptable. The state of being becomes more acceptable. What we see becomes more acceptable. For them. For us it isn't. (...) And for them it wasn't, then. So that's probably, what I'd say that (...) We are reminding you, of what you! Started" (Sylvia, Changing Utopias 16:45–17:17).

Although Kagiso and I inserted ourselves as interviewers in the film, seemingly only asking questions in an objective manner, all the voices heard and all the images depicted agreed with Sylvia's statement. Even Bam, while posing some criticism to Fallist rhetoric and the younger generation's apparent lack of skills, conceded that:

> "Soweto 1976. That youth that same. Was saying, we are not doing anything. For the freedom of this country. (...) But, the freedom was attained, wasn't it. After, as a result of that. So as I'm saying, everything has its time. Even the youth today. They be angry. Twenty years from now there'll be another youth, their children. They are saying [...] something different. You understand. But, by that time, maybe, the economy would be back in our hands" (Bam, Changing Utopias 17:18–17:49).

2. 3. Reactions and Reflections

Out of nearly thirteen hours of interview material, Kagiso and I cut a twenty-minute piece of media. We finished the editing process in June, only two weeks before my departure to Germany. Holding a public film screening at UP and then uploading the film on YouTube had been our vision from the very beginning. Our aim was to create a platform for debate and to give all our interview participants the chance to see the film in its final cut, to give us feedback or to voice possible concerns, before presenting it to a wider public. While everything seemed to work out fine, it was the invitation poster that let us experience a first tinge of UP censorship[13]. Just like in the film, we put together a collage of pictures of

13 The invitation poster to the film screening at UP can be found in Appendix F.

the Soweto Uprisings in June 1976 and pictures of the Afrikaans Must Fall protests of 2016. On top of that, we decided to call for a commemoration of Youth Month, as in each year in June South Africans are remembering the mass killings of students in 1976. As a whole, our poster hinted strongly to the political message of the film; the alignment of Fallism to a decolonial master frame. Consequently, UP management tried to prohibit us from showing the film on campus grounds and it was only for our supervisor Dr. C's defiance and bending of the rules that in the end the screening could take place, hidden in one of her seminar rooms.

I was surprised to notice that despite the oppression against AMF in 2016, none of our interviewees asked for anonymity, even though Kagiso and I had planned out different tactics and possibilities to ensure the safety of our participants. Some of them had already been held in custody in the past, Marcus got expelled from UP just before we interviewed him. However, they all explicitly wanted to appear with their full name and faces visible. Many of them came to the film screening, even though UP management made us hand in a list of all the people who attended, including their passport numbers and car license plates. Despite these attacks, and possibly even because of them, the screening could be celebrated as a success. Marcus was not allowed on campus, but almost all of the other participants came, as well as other activists, students and lecturers. After the screening, the discussion went on for hours. All interviewees were content with the outcome of our project, which Kagiso and I celebrated as a big success. Karabo told me that some parts of the film came off as rather superficial and that she had wished for a more in-depth reproduction of the interviews. The twenty-minute time limitation might have contributed to this impression and I sincerely hope that she will find this thesis to be more detailed and profound. Conversely to the overall great feedback from the audience, some of the white students who attended the screening confronted us with the same critique that UP management would later email us in their attempts to censor and threaten us: Why are all the interviewees black? Where is the white perspective, the Afrikaaner perspective? Or as the UP Ethics Commission would later phrase it in an email which demanded the film to be deleted from YouTube: “The film depicts only one part of a much more controversial political topic and is therefore unethical” (UP Ethics Commission, Email excerpt 12.07.2017). In the end, we removed the film, after Dr. C. and Kagiso were both threatened to be expelled from UP if they would insist on spreading “false accusations” against the university (UP Management, Email excerpt 18.07.2017).

It is August 2018 now and I am close to completing this thesis, still not knowing if there will ever be another version of the film. The old version, which I have cited here, will most likely not be uploaded again and can only be published, given that everyone has graduated, or the political climate at UP has changed. All of the participants own a copy and we have been discussing the option of creating a new film, where everyone could be anonymised, but during the past year it seemed that Fallism is at a point of retreat. New protest strategies might be needed and some even say they would rather leave it to a new form of students to restart FMF. While I am in Germany, screening the film, as well

as writing and talking about it, I must do it with caution. It is my responsibility to stay in contact with all participants and to ensure that nothing happens with the material without their consent. What many of them do want me to do, though, is to spread awareness and spark solidarity among scholars and activists alike.

3. Listening, Watching, Analysing

In this big analytical section, I attempt to relate the theoretical and methodical tools, the preliminary questions and research question, to the compiled interview and film data. The section will begin with a short summary and recap of the six steps going back and forth in a manner of Grounded Theory, leading to the acquisition of the *frame approach* and elements of *narrative analysis* which will finally be defined and explained. In the subsections 3. 2, 3. 3, and 3. 4, these analytical methods will come to use when diving deep into data. 3. 2 will be a discussion of what I have called the *Historical Master Frame*, engaging in a dialogue between research and film to get to the bottom of the questions regarding *Changing Utopias*. In subsection 3. 3 a component of Fallism will be analysed which has proven to have changed and influenced utopias, intersectional feminism. And finally, in 3. 4, the earlier mentioned issues of structural violence versus protest violence will be debated, leading to an analysis of activist's thoughts about the future. Underneath all these subsections lies the common thread of soon to be explained *frame alignment* and, according to the topic of this thesis, the question of Fallist utopia.

3. 1. Coding, Framing, Narrating

Reproducing a research based on Grounded Theory and Militant Anthropology by writing a linear text can be challenging (Glaser/Strauß 2010). In the current case, our protest film project and my anthropological research have overlapped and mutually defined each other, and I will try to recapture and continue this exceptional dialogue in the following analytical subsections. To clarify the various circular steps of gathering and analysing data, this first subsection shall give a detailed overview, retrospection, and explanation of the same. To do so, I have narrowed down the described parallelism of surveying and evaluating data into six steps:
First of all, Kagiso and I, both equipped with various theoretical tools as well as political values and expectations for the film, sat down and came up with a concept. We agreed to explore the question of *Changing Utopias* and facilitate an inter-generational dialogue, meanwhile providing a platform for Fallist activists to present themselves. Our plan was to find an equal number of older anti-apartheid and younger Born Free activists and to ask them all the same or similar questions about utopias and change, later compiling filmic collages of answers. With this in mind, we had our first interview with Reeyah, after which we refined our final questionnaire. Likewise, we reflected on and slightly remodelled the concept of the film throughout the entire course of the project.

In stage number two, Kagiso and I conducted further interviews, keeping them semi-structured and supporting their narrative aspects, whilst relying on our questionnaire for later comparability. During that phase of the project, I came up with my research question, its origin being described in subsection 2. 2: *How do Fallist activists at UP frame their movement as within a broader historical and political struggle for South African utopia?*

In step three, while we were still filming and searching for last interviewees, we began our editing process. The concept was finalized. Pictures, video clips and music songs were gathered to compose a protest film, depicting the similarities between the Soweto Uprising 1976 and AMF 2017. More and more, we aligned our film to the Fallist framing process, as had always been Kagiso's and my declared intention (Stover 2013).

Step four was the most difficult: Making countless small and big decisions, cutting and editing, and then cutting again – who ever believed in the possibility of objective documentary film-making? Quite to the contrast, taking such a stand was gruelling, each cut wanted to be discussed and in the end, a lot derived from gut feeling, aesthetics, or simple practicality. Luckily, we never aimed at objectivity, we always felt and now truly became militantly engaged.

Step number five was marked by the film screening, censorship, and post-film-making reflections. After saying my goodbyes, I came back to Germany, where the reflections have been continuing. Discussing and presenting the film and my research in university seminars, talking about it with loved ones and friends, without Kagiso or the activists there to add to my stories or correct my understandings of Fallism, often felt estranged and out of place. When I finally sat down to write my thesis, I began by re-watching, re-listening, and re-reading all the clips, field notes, and interviews that I had brought with me, transcribing and feeding them into the coding software MAXQDA. Open coding in its literal sense was challenging, given the weeks that I had already spent editing and the connections, opinions, and hypotheses I had already formulated when thinking, discussing, and working with the data so closely (Kuckartz 2010:60–61). Notwithstanding, open coding helped to approach the analysis with a clear head. Leaning on the definition of the German anthropologists Breidenstein, Hirschauer, Kalthoff, and Nieswand, I later clustered the emic codes such as *struggle*, *violence*, and *access*, into “Codeklassen” with categories and subcategories (Breidenstein/Hirschauer/Kalthoff/Nieswand 2015:127). Through several rounds of axial coding, I ended up with the following three sets (Breidenstein/Hirschauer/Kalthoff/ Nieswand 2015:136): First, the *Historical Master Frame*; second, *Feminism and Diversity*; and last but not least, *Falling for Utopia*. Each of these sets is an outcome and abstract of several sub-codes, which will be accounted for in the following subsections 3. 2, 3. 3, and 3. 4.

The last and sixth step in the circular process of gathering and analysing the data is the attempt to answer my research question. Doing so, I will introduce *framing processes* and *narrative analysis*, adding methodical texture to my earlier reflections on utopia and inter-generational conflict.

Canadian sociologist Ervin Goffman wrote in his book *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience*: “I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones –

and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements" (Goffman 1974). This frame approach has been used by different sociologists, social movement theorists, and anthropologists alike, in order to analyse the "pertinence and productivity of Framing/Frame [...] in the study of collective action" (Kunrath Silva 2015:22; Benford/Snow/Pluchard 2013). Working with *framing processes* focuses attention on the actual interpretive work engaged in by movement actors and other relevant parties (Snow 2004:380). US-American sociologist David A. Snow provides an in-depth history of the framing concept being discussed in regard to social movements, namely by Marxists such as Gramsci, "who argued that *mobilising ideas* signalling the development of a revolutionary class consciousness would arise spontaneously when the material conditions were right" (Snow 2004:381, italics by the author). Similar to the more recent work of Appadurai, Marx and Engels have assumed the capacity to aspire to be disproportionate, so that it had to be "stimulated, nurtured, or even moulded" for the working class (Snow 2004:381).

Snow argues that the framing perspective is rooted in the symbolic interactionist and constructionist principle that "meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events, or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead, through interactively based interpretive processes" (Snow 2004:384). The verb *framing* is used to conceptualize this signifying work, which is an ongoing task of social movement activists. That is, ''they frame or assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists'' (Snow/Benford 1988:198). The resulting products of this framing activity within the social movement arena are referred to as ''collective action frames'' (Snow 2004:384). I decided to use the concept of the "master frame" to refer to the utopia of Fallism and its historical and political embeddedness:

> "When numerous movements share aspects of their collective action frames, researchers ask whether there is a *master frame* that is operating. A master frame is a more general, but especially powerful – in that it evokes powerful cultural symbols – interpretative package. Master frames are linked to *cycles of protest* – periods of intense social movement activity in which the mobilization of various movements overlap in time and are often linked to one another" (Johnston/Noakes 2005:10).

When trying to find answers to how the recent South African student movements could manage to mobilise activists nationwide and on different campuses with differing initial positions, but still construct a sense of unity, the concept of the master frame seems suitable (Benford/Snow/Pluchard 2013).

Framing has been defined as an "interactional and ongoing accomplishment" (Snow/Rochford/ Worden/Benford 1986:464). Hence, according to US-American sociologists Johnston and Noakes, every frame that calls for collective action has three tasks; it must be "diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational" (Johnston/Noakes 2005:10). While "diagnostic framing" includes the setting of the agenda using blame and defining responsibilities, "prognostic framing" turns to the articulation of possible solutions to the diagnosed problem (Johnston/Noakes 2005:10). Finally, mobilization is enhanced in the adaption of a "motivational framing"; a process mainly realized with the help of what US-

American sociologists Gamson and Meyer call “rhetoric of change”, referring to the activists' expression of urgency, agency, and possibility (Gamson/Meyer 1996:287–288). Furthermore, “collective action frames” are influenced by the principles of “injustice”, “agency”, and “identity”, meaning that some sort of injustice needs to be felt and accepted by a collective while at the same time it appears possible to become agents of one’s own history (Gamson/Meyer 1996:285). On this basis, a collective spirit can be established, henceforth enabling collective action (Scheufele 2003:88).

Narrative inquiry is shaped by the need to “grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society” (Walker 2005:131). As US-American sociology professor and advocate of critical race theory (CRT) Richard Delgado points out, the attraction of narrative and story lies in the descriptive, communicative, and potentially transformative power of diverse stories and counter stories – the idea of the voice of the “situated contributor” is central to narrative (Delgado 1989:2413). Kimberlé Crenshaw, US-American lawyer and law professor, would later coin the term *intersectionality*, emphasizing on its importance in CRT by highlighting the particular experiences and stories of black women (Crenshaw 2010). In the context of Fallism, intersectionality has been widely discussed among activists and will therefore function as one basic layer underlying the following subsections[14]. Linked to it is the notion of “narratives of generations”, which has been vital to the film and is often discussed in South African politics as well as activists' discourse (Steward/Malley 2004). They constitute a certain kind of doing memory; narrating oneself as part of a certain generation, emphasizing on common experiences and circumstances often comes at the expense of intersectional perspectives and differences.

In their introductory work, *Narrative Analysis. Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*, US-American psychologists Daiute and Lightfood state that “narrative analysis assumes a multitude of theoretical forms, unfolds in a variety of specific analytic practices, and is grounded in diverse disciplines” (Daiute/Lightfood 2004:vii). Additionally, narrative analysis generates unique insights into the range of “multiple, intersecting forces that order and illuminate relations between self and society” (Daiute/Lightfood 2004:xii). Daiute and Lightfood made out three main modes of inquiry based in narrative. For the purpose of this thesis I have chosen the *genre approach*: Analysing narratives by looking at the “culturally developed ways of organising experience and knowledge” (Daiute/Lightfood 2004:x). This approach allows to visualize norms, values, and the practices they inspire, which hence supports my research question of Fallist framing. Equal to framing, narrating is an active process – by telling “what happened, what happens, or what will happen”, people make sense of life, just as Fallists make sense of their activism (Daiute/Lightfood 2004:xi). Adding to frame analysis, as discussed above, narrative as a genre allows to dig deeper, to evaluate the nuances and subtleties of “imagining, exaggerating, hiding, performing, joking, and other symbolic activities” that constitute such frames (Daiute/Lightfood 2004:xi). Moreover, narrative

14 More on the importance of intersectionality in South African feminisms can be found in the works of La Rey (1997), McGlotten (2012), and Matandela (2017).

analysis opens up the possibility of listening to identity constructing itself. Following US-American professor of comparative literature Judith Butler on her theories of the performative, the subject not only finds and reflects itself in the story, it becomes a subject through telling the story, through the narrative act (Butler 1990; Bamberg 2004). To the end that

> "the stability of a narrative depends in part on how important it is to one's sense of self, how it structures one's life, and also on context – the place, time, and conversational partners. After all, we seem to live within the kingdom of our stories and the promises they behold" (Gergen 2004:280–281).

By and large, this kingdom, this frame, is not only where we live, but who we are. So the underlying query to the research question, *How do Fallist activists at UP frame their movement as within a broader historical and political struggle for South African utopia?*, could indeed read: *How do Fallists at UP narrate themselves?*

3. 2. The Historical Master Frame

"We still need to deal with the fact that (...) The Rainbow Nation is not a thing! It doesn't exist, it's (...) there, by theory, but it's never been there. We still need to deal with (...) ehm reparations. We need to deal with everything that hasn't been dealt with" (Karabo, Changing Utopias 17:50-18:17). South Africa's national narrative of the liberation from Apartheid through a peaceful transition, into a rainbow nation where people are now diverse but equal, is challenged by Fallism. On multiple occasions, activists rejected, opposed, and deconstructed this dominant frame of utopia being already achieved:

> "But you're actually fooled. You're still a poor black person. And that's like, eighty percent of black people, while (…) out of that eighty percent, five percent are actually empowered. But we're actually fooled by the system where, if one or two black people are empowered, we think that we are actually empowered. Well, we're not" (Reeyah, Changing Utopias 18:43–18:59).

The diagnosis of Fallism is a deconstruction of the Rainbow Nation. Or, as Karabo puts it: "Utopia for South Africa (...) uh (...) I feel like so much of a pessimist right now" (Changing Utopias 01:28–01:34).

> "Utopia (...) in South Africa (...) will take (...) <laughs> maybe a couple of hundred years. It's definitely not in my life time. Ah because we have to undo (...) (you know) the structural inequalities caused by Apartheid, caused by colonialism and slavery. So undoing that, those are (...) three systems that were meant to last forever. You-know those were systems that were entrenched in our society to ensure that you-know (...) white people always dominated" (Milis'uthando, Changing Utopias 03:21–03:53).

It was the twentieth anniversary of the Rainbow Nation frame that inspired the Fallist movements (Schuhmann 2016:1). After the introductory sequence, this diagnosis is how our film starts. Since 1994, truth has been a momentous obligation for South Africa, hoped to bring peace and unity, forge forgiveness and finally equalize. A powerful belief, a post-revolution and post-apartheid utopia: There is no need for a civil war, no need for

violent or state sanctioned redistribution of land and capital, because the truth will bring equality. In fact, many long-term research studies have shown that this vision has turned out to be a no-place utopia par excellence (Gibson 2006:109). Truth has not automatically lead to reconciliation and collective memory has not overcome segregated identities and stereotypes in South Africa – veritably, a study from the year 2010 states that inter-racial contact, once becoming more normalized, is decreasing yet again (Gibson 2006). Racial segregation had not only been enforced by Apartheid institutions, courts or police, but "doing race" has been deeply inscribed into the identities of "ordinary people" by "a myriad of minute acts of indignity" perpetuated on a daily basis (Durrheim/Mtose/Brown 2011:7,135,165).

By a similar token, economic inequalities endure and linger, especially along the lines of race and gender, questioning the assertiveness of government implemented empowerment measures (Berg 2014). During the course of our interviews, many activists would refer to the TRC, thereby not only criticising but also asking for more truth, for a deeper and more honest remembering of the Apartheid past.

> "We did have the TRC commission but (...) reconciliation does not mean that people restore justice. It's a platform to speak (.) It's emotionally and psychologically (.) you-know, it can help, reconciliation is a way to figure out what went wrong and how it went wrong but you, you can't move on with forgiveness alone! Now we are trying to enforce, to implement, our justice (.) You-know, as a people, as black people! That's where we are right now, to say: We forgave you! But we didn't restore our justice" (Milis'uthando 1, 10:35–11:13).

> "A Utopian South Africa is an honest South Africa. Honest about our past, honest about where we come from. Honest about (...) the lived experiences of people currently and a (...) an appreciation of what people go through daily. And not, in a sense, pushing aside the lived experiences of people, the daily struggles of people. Acknowledging them and collectively working towards resolving the issues that present" (Sylvia, Changing Utopias 01:57–02:24).

Doing memory, as stated by van Dongen earlier in this thesis, is a "moral activity" permeated by power relations (van Dongen 2008:184). In addition, it is an act of framing. Any Fallist diagnosis includes these frames of the past – in as much as the Born Free Generation is supposedly free, their history is not. And they themselves do not feel free either:

> "It is something that happens, when you oppress people. Because when you look at the Apartheid (...) times (...) people had been trying to go to the government and engage and trying to solve these issues. But (...) every day they were being oppressed more and more. Every day. New laws were being passed every time, to try and oppress these people. And it got to a point where (...) they were pushed to a corner where they said you know what. The only way we can get away from this corner is not if we talk. But we need to push, to get away from this corner. And that's what students have been trying to do. To say that, we've been cornered to a point where (...) we can't even talk. We can't even express our issues. We can't even try and engage these people. Because (...) we don't have leverage to do so. So now it's time to push. It's time to do something, it is time to stand up" (Marcus, Changing Utopias 05:09–05:51).

Marcus calls for a new cycle of protest, aligning his movement with the movement for black South African liberation. In his conception and narration, Fallists have learned from

the past – they are now applying similar methods to oppose a similar kind of oppression and words are not enough. It is one key task of Fallist framing to establish a diagnosis that calls for direct action.

Albeit, in our film, Anna and Bam are the ones remembering “that Bantu education system” and while Bam admits that “it still has its impacts, up even-up-until today” as representative of an older generation, it is the young generation who frames this memory in their wake up call to the nation (Bam, Changing Utopias 15:11–15:16): “Cause the educational system itself. It is (...) it is pro-white. It is anti-black” (Marcus, Changing Utopias 07:51–07:56). Most of the universities in South Africa have indeed been built and designed “for the exclusive use of whites”, with only six higher learning institutions dedicated to “the exclusive use of blacks”, namely in their training for public servants (Bunting 2006:36). With the Fees Must Fall and Afrikaans Must Fall protests at UP, students actively remembered the structural Apartheid violence, uncovering its manifestations and materializations under every stone of every campus hall, inside all its surrounding walls, meant to protect and shield white students only, shimmering through every Afrikaans insignia and name written on campus signs and buildings (Mbembe 2016).

> “And questioning [fees] then raises this new question, of who is in control of (..) the system. And who is making us pay? Why are we not de-commodifying education? Education (..) it should be open for anyone at anytime [...] The enemy in this case is is (.) not the university management (.) and, number two, it's not government (..) but rather the people, who are owning the capital. And we term this, white monopolic capital. That are the ones that are (.) controlling everything. and these people are making money (..) from us, coming to this place, as students. Those are the people who are the true <<quotation marks> enemies> […] So university management for us, is just a barrier on our way to government. Because government is the only place where (..) these people in power can be held accountable” (Marcus 10:51-13:42).

Marcus' example of diagnostic Fallist framing and his prognostic explanation and analysis might already be guiding towards a concluding section. Still, I would like to take a moment to further elaborate on the relationship between Fallists and UP management, given its frequent occurrence during the coding process. In our film, Sylvia laughs at her own realization that UP

> “is an institution that is very insulated. From social realities. And from what happens on the outside. It's almost (...) like a Utopia. <laughs> If I can put it that way. <<Soph: For Afrikaaner people?>> <<laughs louder> For Afrikaaner people!>” (Sylvia, Changing Utopias 07:57–08:08).

In the same vein, almost every activist we interviewed at least mentioned the everyday racism of student life at UP. Structural racial separation as enforced by UP's management stands in contradiction to the institutional discourse which formally admits black students, asking them to “Enable Your Future” and “#ChooseUP, because your success matters” (Walker 2005:129; University of Pretoria 2018).

> Then you come to these spaces and they tell you, you have to hurry up, you should finish on time and (...) I don't believe that! That's like saying (..) I don't live in a society where issues are going to affect me <<shakes head>> They're trying to individualize these spaces us much as

> possible, so it's harder for people to come together and organise. So it's actually all part of a capitalistic regime! […] At first, I wasn't involved, but then i felt like (..) I was suffocating. And then i needed to talk to someone, to others, who felt the same and wanted to take on these issues, head-on! (Tholi 1, 21:25-23:09).
>
> This is a prison! They are enforcing biometrics [at the campus gates], that's (.) prison! Universities are government spaces, they're supposed to be open. And one of the things we are begging for since last year's Afrikaans Must Fall is, please take away private security! Take them away, let them go, we don't need them, nobody is trying to harm anyone. And and (.) I honestly believe that nobody's trying to harm anyone. People just want (.) a space where they can feel comfortable […] We heard a lot of these things from Afrikaaner people, like, this is our space. You don't belong here. You are just here to get a degree and then go... So when you're trying to own the space (..) that you worked so hard, trying to get together the fees, to pay for and (..) you're still (.) told you don't belong here. And when you try to (.) find a way to belong there (..) they push you aside with their private security, they push you aside, they they (..) yeah... <gets quiet> (..) It's really hurtful. (...) I don't even know, where this question started (Karabo 2, 41:48-43:58).

To many Fallist activists, the institutions of higher learning represent a South African society dominated by white people and discriminative of the black majority. The contradictions of institutional discourse which both formally admits black students and may subtly work to exclude them as well is just one exemplar of how race works itself out biographically and personally through these institutions (Walker 2005:129). In many interviews, activists raised similar issues, calling out the everyday racism they feel confronted with, particularly at Tuks. Markedly, the emic codes I assigned to the subcategory *UP management and Tuks* were *suffocating*, *not safe*, *space*, *system*, *white*, *struggle* and *institution*. These terms, coined by the activists and frequently used, mirror and explain the existentiality and urgency of Fallism. Activists feel like they would literally die, *suffocate*, if they would not stand up and fight. Activism becomes a coping strategy, a tool to survive, to not drop out, to get a degree, to continue with life, to break through the walls of isolation. Marcus, Tholi, Reeyah, Karabo, they all described their entry into activism as being caused by deep despair and loneliness. The sense of not belonging has often been described in a very emotional way, displaying feelings of hurt, disappointment, and desperateness in the activist's stories.

UP's embeddedness in Apartheid history turns the campus and its power-structures into a matrix of postcolonial politics. Being only “a barrier to government”, the campus is also a reflection of politics' failures (Marcus 13:35). Black students feel neglected by UP management, as they do by twenty years of ANC ruling, which continues to enable the racism and exclusion practised at high ranking institutions such as Tuks. In the end, it is the whole *system*, the whole society that they feel disappointed in. During the cause of AMF in 2016, the unresolved issues of racist separation bubbled up, escalating in violence, once again unmasking UP's priorities:

> We had worked very well together. but then you introduce a force, or an element, that is undesirable or is (.) not necessary in the conversation that we're having. They could have had a conversation with Afriforum outside of progressive student formations, but now (.) there was a war on campus. Black versus white. Stones were being thrown, bricks were being thrown,

> people were really, uhm (...) divided! And it was clear, black and white [...] There really was a breakdown (.) between management and black students (Sylvia 2, 00:00–02:08).

In the master frame of black empowerment, of South African liberation, Fallism craves to mark a new cycle of protest. The images that have been produced in 2016, be it willingly or unwillingly, appear to be stunningly similar to images of past anti-apartheid struggles; “blacks on one side, whites on one side”, as Anna had explained (Changing Utopias 14:50). The described “breakdown between management and students” resembles the breakdown between Fallists and the South African state (Sylvia 2, 02:05). In the subcategory titled *Injustice and inequality*, the emic code I assigned was *struggle*, followed by *system* – codes I had established before, when analysing the relationship between Fallist activists and UP management, as well as in this whole subsection.

> “Like some kids come from townships. And then, when they get to Varsity and stuff, we have to go to aim, when we find that (...) kids don't even know how to use computers and everything. And then they tell you that if you fail aim, you fail!” (Reyaah, Changing Utopias 07:39-07:50).

> “We have a struggle where, at home, we know we have to get things done, because we are the first to go to university. So (...) we struggle. We struggle with small things, like getting sanitary pads. You struggle with food, you struggle with (..) getting a place to sleep! and (..) in fact, that's not even eighty percent of our problems: writing twenty pages of text, or an exam (..) that's maybe twenty percent of the struggle. But then we're competing with people who don't! have! these struggles that we have and who don't walk to school, for incident. You-know the ones that live closer to university can afford to pay the rent prices, and then they have cars! We don't! They want to mark us all the same and want to treat us all the same but (..) our backgrounds aren't the same! And our backgrounds affect how we study, you-know, you need a whole lot of dedication, if you are coming from a township school or rural school, to be with someone, for instance, <<gestures towards Soph> from Berlin> (..) from America, from (.) or any other white South African school. If you are from a township, you need to work harder. I mean (..) hard work for me is our daily lives! We are (.) breathing! for us is hard work. <short laugh> That's a mission in itself because (.) of the struggles and the systematic oppression within the educational environment” (Milis'uthando 1, 29:07-32:15).

In the last quote of Milis'uthando, she clearly hints at my privileged background as a white academic from Berlin. This rarely ever happened in our interviews and the short silence that followed could maybe illustrate the feeling of discomfort, an uncertainty if some invisible line had been crossed. I remember nodding, trying to assure that I was fine and not at all offended, and I also remember thinking that I would never be able to fully understand the struggle she was talking about.

Ultimately, when talking about racial inequality, the Born Free Generation challenges not only the idea of the Rainbow Nation utopia, but also the narrative of an utopian government linked to it: “So they also didn't do much. To actually reparate. What the legacy. Has done” (L., Changing Utopias 18:35–18:42). The activist who made this statement called me, just after we had put the film up on YouTube, and demanded to be anonymised or cut out of the film completely. After getting accepted for a governmental job position, L. got worried that this statement might destroy his career. Bolanle, who remained included in the film, seemed quite on point, summing up the relationship between many Fallist activists and the ANC government:

> "The African elites are actually (...) really really (...) uh, hurting the future of I-think South African people by (...) by the way in which there are going about their democracy. And it's not to say that, it's not to suggest or say that a lot hasn't been done. ANC has done so much! That's why, I'm a member of it! I've seen its changes within my community. My mom tells me about it, my grandmother tells me about it. But I think that right now (...) more has to be done" (Changing Utopias 22:08–22:40).

In this subcategory 3. 2, it is notable that almost every activist we interviewed had a relationship to the ANC that appeared rather contradictory: A lot of admiration and gratitude, as well as deep personal and familial connections on the one hand; disappointment, anger, and boiled up frustration on the other. Eye-catching emic codes were *heroes*, *Apartheid*, *struggle*, *elites*, *power*, *redistribution*, and *corruption*. It is not surprising that many of the aspiring politicians of Fallism have grown up in political families, their parents and grandparents former *struggle heroes* and therefore often members of a newly emerging black middle class. Like Milis'uthando, they have always been surrounded by politics and stories about struggle. Their whole identity is political, past and present:

> "I have a very deep connection to the ANC, even from before i was born. My father (...) he was a political prisoner. He was also part of the MK (..) so I think, from sitting and learning from those experiences (...) I got to understand who I am and, you-know, my society and my people. It gave me a place of belonging, I guess" (Milis'uthando 2, 05:23–06:25).

The inter-generational conflict can forthwith often be a conflict between family members. When I asked Karabo what she would say to the older generation of activists, she told me that this was indeed a very practical question, not a hypothetical one – her mother being an ANC member and former anti-apartheid fighter:

> "I'd like to tell them that they failed us. They failed us by just accepting. And (..) the dreams they had of letting their children go to better schools (..) those dreams only got true for the few that can afford it [...] Especially the ANC. They have failed to create a better life for all [...] The liberation movement, has always been an elitist movement. Led by black men, by the upper classes of black people. And for them (.) freedom meant something different than what they were promising the man on the street. And when they got their freedom, they forgot about the man on the street. You forgot about that person, that you used as a shield! That you used as a body, as a bridge, to walk on. That's what I would (.) that's what I say to them" (Karabo 3, 15:25–17:11).

After a long discussion, Kagiso and I decided to not include this quote in our film. It was for the lack of older generation's activists featuring in the film that we feared Karabo's accusation to cause a further imbalance or éclat at our screening. In retrospective, I find it very important to absorb her honesty and disappointment for the legacy of her mother, which can again not be separated from her disappointment in the state. Comparable to professors and management directors at UP, parents and grandparents can function as authority figures representing the ANC government – an institution that has allegedly failed its black citizens. "What are they [ANC] actually doing to redistribute the wealth (.) from the rich to the poor, so they can pay for our education?! If they say that they cannot fund it, if their budget is so small?" (Marcus 14:04–14:22).

What we did include in our film was the reaction to the earlier mentioned joke about students having to fall, by Higher Education Minister Nzimande, summed up by EFF politician and student activist Mbuyiseni Ndlozi in the parliamentary debate on FMF in 2015:

> "From the Statues Must Fall to the Fees Must Fall movement: We salute these gallon fighters and affirm their determination, resilience, and unity, which brought the ANC government kicking and screaming, in that soprano voice of Blade Nzimande to agree on zero percent free increment in 2016 (...) The ANC's motion, that we sit here today and debate youth empowerment reflects their slow pace in understanding the revolutionary tram clock! of social change" (Changing Utopias 15:30–16:01)[15].

As described in subsection 1. 1, Fallism has soon become a playing field for national politics. It seems only logical that the EFF would try and utilize the anger and frustration voiced by so many young people against the ANC government. The former *struggle heroes* are being marked as old, stiff, corrupted, and conservative elites, not least to undermine their political predominance that has lasted for decades. Those who do not come from a family background of politicians or are not privileged by middle or upper class habitus and capital often have a less ambivalent attitude towards the ANC and are at the same time more vulnerable to the risks of engaging in Fallist politics. In the film, Tholi and Marcus both talk about what the dangers of activism and the responsibility they feel towards their families and communities:

> "A lot of people have distanced themselves. Even personally, you lose a lot of friends, ehm, you lose a lot of (...) close people and (...) it even puts you in a very compromising position with your family. Because your family has (...) you come from a poor family, they put you in an institution that is high rated and they say, get a degree so that you can help us to get out of this poverty" (Marcus, Changing Utopias 10:52–11:16).

Following this perspective, I would like to introduce another subcategory: *Comparing access, tools, and knowledge*. In our interviews, activists of all ages have answered our questions of Changing Utopias with hints toward the young movement's new abilities. One of the main differences between Fallists and anti-apartheid fighters is the fact that the Fallist movement is widely constituted by academics: "We have found our generational purpose right now in that, you-know, we have greater access to all these platforms than our forefathers and liberators ever had" (Milis'uthando 2, 00:00–00:18). Even though there are great class differences between black students at UP, all of them do have access to the same university. That has not been the case for the anti-apartheid Freedom Fighters. Back then, access to education had been much more limited, as explained above.

> "What is was, as it happened, and what it continues to be (...) is (...) a show or a display (...) of the character of the Born Free Generation. The so called Born Free Generation. It (...) I think it came as a shock, but shouldn't have come as a shock. This, this was waiting to happen" (Sylvia, Changing Utopias 05:52–06:15).

15 His entire speech can be found on *News Africa* (2015).

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu writes in his book La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement, how it is only when the new generation realises that they are being lied to, that they can in fact not study themselves and their communities out of poverty, that the inter-generational conflict becomes a radical protest against the romantic sentiments of the older generation, against their fundamental beliefs in order, in carrier opportunities, in upward mobility, in progress (Bourdieu 1979:248). Even though his work is based on his studies of the French society during the second half of the twentieth century in Europe, an historically and politically entirely different context than that of postcolonial Fallism, I would like to dare a theoretical thought experiment: In relation to the inter-generational conflict in South Africa, Bourdieu's theory would imply that young people have to distance themselves from their families and communities in order to leave behind an identity of the oppressed, the enslaved, the unfree (Bourdieu 1979; van Dongen 2008). Kagiso's grandmother Anna told us that she confides with pride in the history of her country and, though it might not be a place of utopia, she believes in the Rainbow Nation South Africa of equality and freedom:

> “I am very proud because I can see our black brothers and sisters rise up to very very high positions! They are pilots, they are (.) in charge of the reserve bank, they are running the most powerful (..) eh I don't know what to say you-know those (.) high ranking institutions of our country. Universities, we have black rectors, we have (..) our people have risen to great heights” (Anna 05:55–06:35).

And even when the older generation sees urgency in recent or ongoing political issues, they still consider them not as pressing as the Fallists might want them to. The utopian demands of the young generation can go beyond what their parents and grandparents are able to imagine – if the capacity to aspire comes with privilege, it will continue to grow among black academics.

The framing of Fallism is much more than an act of political mobilisation: Activists are coming into being through narratives of resistance inside historical master frames of Black Empowerment, or decolonial anti-apartheid struggles. They are aligning their movements to these master frames as they are aligning their own identities to those narratives of struggle and victory. Narratives of resistance frame identities of resistance, whereas an older generation might be too tired to join in for this new battle (Anderson 1991). After colonial identity theft, objectification, fetishization, and dehumanisation, they are surviving and carefully reconstructing themselves by doing memory; narrating history, embeddedness in time. Their aspired future has already become present. This might explain the inter-generational problem of communication, a lack of understanding which we featured in the film by including these quotes by Bam:

> “That's how I visualise Utopia. It's almost like a dream, you see. Or a vision. But whether you will achieve it (...) It's another thing. You know you need tools, you need ah finances, you need logistics, you need (...) people to do the job” (Changing Utopias 03:53–04:10).

> “You-see that's the kind of discussion. I will, I know they might call you names, like no you're a sell-out, you can't (...) but I'll say it's fine! But if tomorrow you are given those opportunities to implement, I know you are not going to be able to implement them. Cause you don't have the (...) the skills” (Bam, Changing Utopias 20:25–20:41).

Even though the young generation of activists has more access to university education and professional training than any generation of black South Africans ever before, Bam does not trust in their abilities to lead the country to a more utopian future. He finds them inexperienced and naïve, too young to know better. As portrayed in subsections 1. 1 and 2. 2, Bam is not the only one who doubts the "generational mission" of Fallism, to bring about a new cycle of protest in the struggle for decolonisation (Milis'uthando, Changing Utopias 04:49–05:08). Will Fallists manage to overcome the obstacles of miscommunication between them and their parents and grandparents? Can the lasting change they seek be implemented without the support of these older generations?

> "I think the first part of (.) the movement was about fees and access, but now (.) as we grow and as we benchmark, as we read more and we engage to we see that (.) for fees to fall it means much more than tuition fees. Certain institutions themselves need to be challenged (.) Properly! The fact that the university is a business (.) needs to be interrogated a lot! So the utopia of Fees Must Fall now would be geared towards (.) Fixing (.) the structural inequalities that have been entrenched by (.) colonialism and the Apartheid system. So it went beyond (..) you-know at first it was access! And we were all like access, but now it's access for whom? And how? And at what expense? And who is not going to benefit from it? So those questions (.) if they were to be answered (.) would create an opportunity for every person to participate in this system and see, whether or not they can use it to pull themselves out of the (.) situation that they find themselves in […] Decolonisation itself (..) also works with horizontal power. The whole thing that (.) the power is with the People! So if the masses come together and work together, towards one goal, it works. But as they are starting to fragment, to move away from each other, the two steps that they took forward, will equal to five steps backwards. This is the difference between (.) the practicality of decolonisation and the dream (.) of decolonisation" (Bolanle 18:15–22:52).

3. 3. Framing Feminism, Framing Diversity

The utopia of Fees Must Fall is free, decolonized education. Like Bolanle, different activists agreed that the dream of decolonisation goes beyond what is immediately achievable. The "breaking down" of certain structures and institutions, habits and norms, causes a reconstruction of minds and identities and does not come without contention – even amidst the activist's groups themselves (Bolanle, Changing Utopias 11:23). Feminism, gender based violence, and issues of LGBTIQA+ in Fallism were topics that came up so frequently during our interviews and conversations, this paper would be incomplete without them. Due to time management, these topics could only be touched upon in the film. Conversely, their influences on Fallist framing are not negligible. Narratives of protest are always gendered narratives and gender is often being used strategically by different political players to emphasize on certain aspects of an uprising or protest event (Petzelberger 2017). As discussed in subsection 1. 1, Fallist attempts to frame the movement as feminist and intersectional often stand in opposition to one, the media portrayal of hyper masculine Fallist violence, and two, the patriarchal tradition of the Freedom Fighters, as well as the entire South African political sphere.

Nigerian publisher Bibi Bakare-Yusuf is amongst the many feminists who claim the binary gender hierarchy in Africa to be a by-product of colonial history and neo-colonial presence (Bakare-Yusuf 2004). In her opinion, gender as a category has been imported and forced upon Africans by the colonizers, leading to homophobia and violence against women. She bases her theory primarily on the fact that in Yoruba and other indigenous languages, *man* or *woman* lack equivalent translations (Bakare-Yusuf 2004:2). Then again, when talking about African culture and tradition, "pleasure to men and violence to women" have often been constructed to be timeless natural premises, whereas feminism is made out to be "westernised" or "non-African" (Naidu/Ngqila 2013:61). A growing number of people believe that this "traditional African masculinity" needs to be questioned, given "the diversity of ways and contexts in which it is deployed", making it an empty shell justification for violent patriarchal systems (Everitt-Penhale/Ratele 2015:4,21).

> "History is very very important. Because i think that (.) a lot of the normalisations of this hyper masculine environment we find ourselves in, can be traced to (..) to back when, when, when... And then some of these cultures become entrenched in society, and become normal, that by the time we come and we're like, eyyy you're suffocating us, we can't breathe, people will be like, but culture has been like this since this and this and this. <shakes head> So I think for me, history is almost (..) it's a very good starting point towards a creation of (.) a feminist position! And also (..) a philosophical approach to certain things, weaving in women to (.) the broader discussions and discourses instead of just focusing on (..) men men men men men! Inserting women into these parts of history, is almost my (.) mission <smiles>" (Bolanle 1, 12:47–13:52).

South African writer and Fallist Mbalenhle Matandela agrees, explaining that "memory-work", or *doing memory*, can function as a decolonial feminist methodology, allowing for "individual and collective reflection and theorisations" leading to "complex understandings of violence" (Matandela 2017:10). Because women and LGBTIQA+ have been "consistently erased" from history, it is important to assert from the outset that they have been present "from the very start" (Boyce Davies 2014:78).

Indeed, all over the world a close connection can be made out between anti-colonial and feminist movements (Boyce Davies 2014). In South Africa, feminist theory and practice has been supported by heterogeneous organisations and a progressive constitution, with the Extensive Equality Act implemented in 1996 (Hassim 2006:349; Lewis 2001). During the struggle for liberation, women like Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, and many others challenged the system "while most men had been defeated by Apartheid, were in jail, forced into exile or dead" (Shange 2017:62). Yet South African sociologist Darlene Miller explains that:

> "[even though] many women revolutionaries were disgruntled with male leadership, this dissent was suppressed in the main, and male leadership prevailed, as is evident in post-apartheid society. Older left-wing feminists who now occupy matriarchal spaces as wives, mothers and respected academic elders were thus unable to transform the hierarchy of gender in their own political praxis" (Miller 2016:280–281).

According to the Rainbow Nation frame, gender equality is amongst the many utopian justices that have already been implemented as rooted in the constitution (Gouws 2010).

Fallist feminists are deconstructing this notion, calling out the lack of tangible progress for the everyday reality of women and LGBTIAQ+.

> “You know, people are still (.) like what is homophobia, are they afraid (..) of the gay? Like they don't wanna catch it? (.) So we also made an educational symposium, where we were teaching students. You-know we did the gender box, and the unicorn and, you know... We had the vice principal come to our lot and say (.) my brother is <<makes quotation marks with her fingers> a gay>. What? what do you mean <laughs> A gay what? And he went on about how (..) this touches him so close to his heart but he couldn't (...) yeah (..) that doesn't help” (Karabo 3, 00:59–02:15).

> “LGBTI students don't feel safe on campus and UP management is not doing anything to protect us. We don't! feel safe” (Karabo 3, 12:03–12:14).

> “Things do tend to become very performative. (..) That's my biggest concern, that it's just for representation, while the sexism inside the groups remains untackled and the same. Cause females are often not actually making the decisions. It's the same in many of these political structures where (..) women are put in the front, but inside they are not actually making those decisions. (..) So with us, it's a new thing. and I think and I hope this trend will continue” (Tholi 1, 37:38–38:13).

As pointed out in subsection 1. 1, Fallism has been utilized as a platform for a new kind of political representation, bringing “females to the forefront” (Milis'uthando 2, 03:35). According to Milis'uthando, this happened partly because of the sheer number of black women inside Fallist groups and their outspokenness and unwillingness to step behind their male comrades, and partly as a political choice, giving the movement a female face and further encouraging female participation and leadership (Milis'uthando 2, 04:55–05:23).

> “During Apartheid with the (...) ehm, our struggle heroes or the liberators. They had a more patriarchal (...) setting. You-know politics! is patriarchal and for them it was more dominant and it was (...) you-know (…) extremely, you knew that if the ANC was to release a statement, or any other political party was to release a statement, it would be a male, a black man” (Milis'uthando, Changing Utopias 20:42–21:07)

> “I think females also were (...) tired and they decided that they actually want to now speak on their own and handle their own issues cause we've spent so much time being <<making quotation marks with her fingers> protected>, by the black male or the male rather in society, cause that's what patriarchy (...) dictates. It's definitely a new thing! And for me, <nods repeatedly> it was a very crucial moment in history that females were now able to stand up and speak about it” (Tholi, Changing Utopias 21:08–21:46).

The last two statements were included in our protest film, succeeding Bam's earlier quoted remarks on how the young generation would not bring the “necessary skills” to the table, how he would not believe them fit to be revolutionaries or leaders towards an old utopia under a new guise (Bam, Changing Utopias 20:41). This editorial choice reflects our assumption that part of society's distrust in the Born Frees might derive from their rebellious intersectionality. Nine out of the eleven younger activists we interviewed were women. The explanation for this ratio may partly lay in Milis’uthando starting the snowball effect and introduced us to her female friends on purpose, yet could also in part be rooted in

> "black queer womxn and nonbinary people constitut[ing] leadership within both movements, contrary to many existing articles and narratives, [and] were actively addressing and resisting the country's historically androcentric and heteronormative social activism environment. They demanded space and formed a narrative outside of the racebased, male and ANC-centric legacy of South African struggle. The power of these university womxn and nonbinary people exists in stark contrast to the high numbers of direct violence incidents, corrective rape and murder that black womxn and queer people face across SA. This reality speaks to their importance in the decolonial project – one of creating a new world through consciousness and education – so that, one day, decolonisation is realised beyond only race and the fight for nonbinary and womxn's safety, survival, and existence ends" (Khan 2017:112).

In my friendships with black South African women, sexual violence was a topic that often came up, even in casual conversation. Pumla Dineo Gqola wrote about the rape trial against president Jacob Zuma, illustrating how this case is not at all a personal issue or an exception in "rape capital" South Africa, where sexual violence is one prominent way of securing male dominance (Gqola 2015:11). Accordingly, when asked about her personal definition of utopia, Bolanle answered:

> "I don't think I've thought about (.) distant utopia. I think for me the main thing has always been to fight injustices that bother me right now. So my type of imagining a kind of utopia would at least be for the changing (.) the image of women of being (.) rapeable. Black women are the most likely to be raped (..) and its part of the whole matter of how identities are being constructed" (Bolanle 1, 09:23–09:48).

Another question which we asked rather frequently was inquiring about the best and the worst experiences activists had been exposed to during the Fallist protests. It was during our interview with Tholi, when I first heard about the sexual violence perpetrated inside Fees Must Fall:

> "There was a rape at UCT. So (..) people were there, preparing for Fees Must Fall and, it was at the height of Fees Must Fall! and then a female comrade was raped by (.) one of the male comrades. One from the headlines, a comrade from the front lines, that everyone knows, an activist who's almost (..) and then he raped someone and then people realized that it was something that was happening during this protest. That females were getting raped. And people were being marginalized against cause they had not fallen into the gender binary... and they were treated so badly and it's something that came up and (..) I think something about Fees Must Fall that I appreciate is that (..) it exposed these violent structures! Cause you think you're in a safe space with your comrades and you guys are fighting the same enemy (..) but then they feel entitled to your body or (...) So I think that's for me, that's the most negative that stands out from my experiences with Fees Must Fall. It (...) it hurts a lot" (Tholi 1, 23:09–25:08).[16]

According to Gqola, sexual violence had been a happening inside the liberation movement, without reappraisal – against the common white enemy, unity between black men and women was considered essential and non-negotiable (Gqola 2015). Black women who speak up about violence are still often blamed to be "divisive", for example in

16 A detailed account of another rape case at Wits, which also happened during the Fees Must Fall protests, can be found in the article of Miller (2016). Additionally, Fallist sociologist Nombulelo Shange has compiled a whole list of cases of violence against women and queers, as well as sexist and homophobe incidents that happened during protests and inside activists' organising structures (2017).

workers' unions, while the male perpetrators of violence are protected (Makgetla 2011:262; Tshoaedi 2017). Rape has long been an “unspeakable thing” (Penny 2014:28). Now, in Fallism, to talk about the violence, to make rape inside the movement a public issue, could again be feared to cause division and dismantle the image of a feminist, partisan, intersectional movement. With this in mind, Tholi's honesty and outspokenness could be considered just as surprising as the articles I would later find in the journal *Agenda*, written by Fallist feminists about the Nude/Naked Protests:

> “On 4 October 2016, during a #FeesMustFall protest at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg, three young womxn bravely took off their tops, breasts out, and stood as a buffer zone between police and protesting students. The aim of the ‘nude’ protest was to obtain a ceasefire” (Ndlovu 2017:68).

> “Black urban women are a force unleashed in the #FeesMustFall movement. Their struggle tactics are radical. Women students at the University of Cape Town (UCT), Rhodes University (Rhodes) and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) employed the feminist activist tactic of stripping to show disgust at society. They stood topless at their barricades, most of them young black women […] The 'bare breast' protest by Rhodes and Wits women students thus smashes through prevailing social norms, even activist norms” (Miller 2016:272).

> “Then at Wits, they had a naked protest (.) to say, we've had enough like (...) even when I'm naked you are not entitled to my body! […] At least now, it's out in the open and people are talking about it! Cause before, there was so much shame to even speak out” (Tholi 1, 25:10–26:15).

Other articles link such protests to historical African women's movements. Many Fallist feminists are doing memory work while taking pride in aligning their Naked Protests to those of their brave ancestors (Kazeem 2013). Hence, the radical feminist framing of Fallism is often less focused on the alignment to the liberation movement. Here, Fallism has rung in a new cycle of protest, but this time decolonization is approached in an intersectional and therefore holistic way (Matandela 2017). So yes, the utopias have changed, as they now radically include women and LGBTIQA+ (Shange 2017:66).

> “And we have new issues that we haven't dealt with, as a society, for example the issues of the LGBTI community which for us is only a post-apartheid reflection. it's a post-apartheid (...) way of understanding our society and it's not that (.) the LGBTI community didn't exist. But they didn't have rights!” (Milis'uthando 2, 03:02–03:35).

Forthwith, the intersectional feminism of Fallism constitutes a prognosis as well as a diagnosis and several demands have been made in order to achieve feminist solutions, inside and outside the movement.

> “As (...) Karabo. I don't need to feel like I need to fight every time I walk into a space. First, because I'm a woman. Then I'm black, then I'm <swallows> queer, and then it's all these things and then it's just like (...) Do I? Do I? Then (...) you give up. So my Utopia is (...) not having to fight for an existence in a South Africa that's (...) where you are supposed to feel like you belong to” (Karabo, Changing Utopias 02:54–03:21).

3. 4. Falling for Utopia

In this last analytical subsection, prognostic and motivational modes of Fallist framing will be discussed further, with a focus on the issue of violent protesting as presented in subsection 1. 1. Arriving again at the prognosis of Fallism, Marcus, maybe because of his alliance to the EFF, was the activist who would frequently bring his narrative back to capitalism:

> "Change the system of the university (...) For us (...) to be able to accommodate everyone. That, that's the main goal. To try and accommodate (...) as many black students. Cause right now, there's a large number of students who (...) where I come from personally, who (...) have great marks, who have nineties and eighties and a lot of distinctions. But a lot of them cannot be in this system because they cannot afford to be in the system. But you see a large number of white people who (...) with fifties and sixties (...) who, they are in the system because they can afford to be in the system. So (...) we are trying to remove (...) that uhm (...) that factor of money" (Marcus, Changing Utopias 06:47–07:25).

Later in the interview, Marcus would further elaborate on the arising struggle for economic freedom – I have quoted him in subsection 3. 2, when he identified "white monopolic capital" as "the enemy" (Marcus 13:04; 12:50). In the quest for real utopias, as introduced in subsection 1. 4, Fallists have come up with various ways to negotiate, participate, disrupt, and protest. Like UP has, particularly in 2016, some of the universities in South Africa have been responding to these actions with violence inflicted upon students and workers by security forces, alike the police violence directed towards protestors during the March to the Union Buildings in 2015 and later on. In the dominant Fallist narrative, "most protests across the country started out peaceful; however, because of the brutality of the State and universities, students soon retaliated" (Xaba 2017:96).

> "We were punched by people from Afriforum, we got attacked! We were always the wrong people (.) to be asking for what's right. (..) And we never! incited violence, ever. It was always these (..) Afriforum crashed our meeting with management! Afriforum (.) hit us first, they called us kaffers first!" (Karabo 2, 15:10–15:47)[17].

> "And everyone said, tomorrow is the day (..) and I was the last person to speak and I said (.) We can't burn. We can't (...) you-know, do that. With the way the student body is set up [here at Tuks] (..) we really are pathetic, soo (..) chances are we're going to scare students away, chances are, you-know, our, our cause is going to be delegitimized. Therefore, if we start burning, our cause is over!" (Milis'uthando 1, 11:13–11:56).

> "But no... this is Tuks! <short laugh> We were singing in the streets! There was one tire that was burned, but apparently (..) we burned the streets, so it's like malicious damage to property or whatever. I haven't really taken it in, to be honest (...) emotionally (..) I haven't. It was an interesting experience (.) but I haven't dealt with it. [...] We were in the holding cell for

17 *Kaffer* or *kaffir* is an ethnic slur for native South Africans, banned as hate speech by the Promotion of Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act for its dehumanising coinage under colonial and Afrikaaner rule (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, Republic of South Africa 2012).

> five hours and then they took us back to another cell (...) so we were there for roughly (.) twenty-three hours so it was a whole night. We left the next morning" (Tholi 2, 00:00–00:53).

According to the activists Kagiso and I interviewed, Fallist violence has always been a reaction – either to other direct physical violence by Afriforum, university security, and the police; or to the structural violence of everyday injustice and inequality, caused by *the system*. Not every interviewee agreed with every strategy employed by other Fallists at UP or in other parts of the country, but they all displayed a strong sense of solidarity, even for those campuses where violent student protests had escalated:

> "I mean you look at Tswane University of Technology (.) eehm, they had been complaining about their fees every single year, annually! And then in January, they were burning their institution! Even the trees at their institution. But not, i-mean, they made like a day or two's headline and it was passed off as oh, it's normal, soo (...) for them it was oh-ok you only take notice when (..) middle class, upper class kids are making a noise out of this. I mean for every single year without fail we make a protest, we take to the streets because of NSFAS, we don't register for a good month or two because, you-know, we are trying to get our registration sorted![18] so I, I understood where it came from! That pain, that (...) what Fees Must Fall was for them and a very deep scar was opened (.) especially for a lot of black youth in the country and, yeah... Look, I was also against burning a library or damaging a library, or any other facility that we would need in, you-know in order to (.) further ourselves. In order to make the university (.) experience, the academic experience, because (.) it's the very library that gives us! the textbooks because we can't afford to buy them. But in the same breath, I understand the pain. I understand the pain of (..) being so hopeless that you don't care. That you would rather (.) not have anything than to be given just a (.) a bite (.) of what, you-know, needs to happen" (Milis'uthando 1, 26:43–29:07).

None of these quotes were included in the film. We had collected a lot of footage on the issue of violence – as it has been a main topic in the public discourse – and made many cuts due to time limitations and questions of responsibility, concerned with the exposure of our interviewees. Like Tholi, a number of them had been arrested before. However, as Milis'uthando and Tholi argue, the violent confrontations at UP were rather small compared to the outbursts happening at other universities[19]. Duncan coins the term "competitive escalation", referring to the vicious cycle of violence causing more violent responses while only the most forceful acts of protest get full newspaper coverage, contributing to the mediated "riot porn" (Duncan 2016a; Duncan 2016b:183). Analysing the interviews, it often seems as if the activists were annoyed, frustrated, or even embarrassed by the lack of "political culture" at UP, with the Fallist protests staying comparably small – especially with regards to Wits, located in the neighbouring city of Johannesburg (Tholi, Changing Utopias 04:47). This discontent with what is likely a result

18 NSFAS is an abbreviation for *National Student Financial Aid Scheme*, which assigns funding to "poor and working class families who would otherwise not be able to afford to study" and is sponsored by the South African Ministry for Education (NSFAS, National Student Financial Aid Scheme 2005). All the students I talked to, inside and outside the protest film project, were annoyed or frustrated with NSFAS' incapability, unprofessionalism, and inefficiency.

19 For a detailed summary of acts of violence in nine South African universities, consider the recently published text of Langa (2018).

of UP's persistent whiteness and neoliberal individualism clearly surfaced in Milis'uthando's earlier cited quote where she refers to the student body as being "pathetic", making it impossible to "burn" (Milis'uthando 1, 11:13–12:03; Jansen 2009). In essence, all interviewees agreed: Fallists "burn to be heard" (Duncan 2016a).

> "This has always been tricky for me because (..) I think people don't just go, wake up one morning and say, let's go and burn! It's after things have happened, like you have spoken! you have been negotiating, you have been promised things! and they're not being delivered. You have been arrested, victimized! Then you get tired then (..) there's no way you're actually going to continue speaking (.) if you're not receiving any results from speaking. There comes a point, a breaking point, where you've had enough. if you need their attention and it means burning five tires, then yes, that needs to happen" (Tholi 2, 08:03–09:08).

At the same time, there has been critique coming from inside the movement, regarding the ways in which violence has been acted out and by whom. Earlier quoted South African feminist and Fallist Wanelisa Xaba wrote in her Agenda article on Challenging Fanon: "Patriarchal, militarised, hyper-masculine responses to colonialism and white supremacy bring the same destructive energy to liberation movements" (Xaba 2017:103). While the gendered riot porn depiction of angry black men burning buildings has been widely countered with an emphasis on peaceful intersectional and creative organising led by women and LGBTIQA+, and in spite the solidarity with violence and burning inside the movement, some of the exhibited leaders are calling for new ways of protests:

> "The reason our organising has to change is (..) because our police is still trained the same way, it's still Apartheid police that we are dealing with. So they! know how to defend. That's all they do. Where they're supposed to protect, they only know how to defend themselves and private property. (..) So to protect the bigger picture (.) there must be other ways to ensure that the police (.) doesn't react the way they react, unless we want to start a whole new struggle about how to... train the police differently. but before then, ehm, there's many forms of protest! We have discussed that, before uprising fell apart (..) we we had a very long talk on (.) how to protest, and for what. (…) There's many many forms of protest. And (.) the forms of protest that (.) we need! are the ones that (.) ensure that you're still protected. I remember the one idea we had was a hunger strike (..) The university is not gonna let you die on their property. So if you go on a hunger strike then (.) they'll have to give you something. If you sit there in one place and you say, I'm not gonna eat, I'm not gonna move (..) these are forms of protest that we were thinking about. Because (.) self-harm is a form of protest. And many people don't look at it that way. We need to find new ways of protesting, we need to sit down!" (Karabo, 11:14–13:25).

This leads to the final paragraph of this subsection, the motivational frame; Fallists looking into the future utilizing a "rhetoric of change", narrating urgency, agency, and possibility (Gamson/Meyer 1996:287–288). During my time at UP in 2017, no further protest actions happened and the movement seemed to peter out. Activists were partly blaming the oppression and wide-ranging interdicts prohibiting all forms of assembly by UP management, and partly the falling apart of the movement in 2016.

> "And because this relationship was so fragile (.) and the lack of (.) ehm (..) collective ehm (.) collective action by students, the political parties being fragmented and not, it became very difficult. Management was very prepared. They had already dealt with three shut downs by

> that time. (..) They had seen (.) the tactics employed by students previously and (.) we, we really were not united! as a student body" (Sylvia 2, 02:08–02:50).
>
> "Fees Must Fall was a learning curve. I think, we learned a lot from it (..) Now it needs better planning and (.) it needs to happen again! We haven't achieved what we wanted to achieve. A lot! still needs to be done. But I don't think that we right now have another group of people, willing to put their bodies and their futures on the line. I think that's another difference between (..) our generation and the previous generation (.) that the previous generation was willing to die for what they believed in. But these things do keep coming up. You have random racial outbursts and then you realize, there is so much racial tension, but then it's slipped under the carpet to pretend (.) so everyone can continue life as normal. (...) But eventually it will blow up!" (Tholi 1, 40:52–42:24).

Again, there seemed to be a certain disappointment with the movement and its outcomes: Upgraded security measures, exacerbated campus regulations, Fallists victimized and traumatized by violence, arrested, expelled, tired, dismissed by their fellow students, activists, families, and fellow South Africans. Nevertheless, all our interviewees agreed with Tholi on the movement being far from over, but finding itself in a process of re-evaluation, gathering new strength for the future and hoping for new ideas. As Sylvia put it:

> "I spent fourteen hours in a jail cell (.) because there wasn't a plan. So I don't think I would distance myself (.) completely (..) to the movement, but I would employ more thinking and strategy to my involvement and to how I get involved. (.) Yeah... just thinking it through. (..) I also feel as though (..) I don't wanna say I'm aging out <<laughs> but> I'm growing as well in this space. There are younger people here now and (.) when you've learned the hard lessons, you become less courageous and (.) more cautious. (..) And it's good that we older students are still there, to remember, this is how the university operates, this is how the state operates, you-know, bringing in the voice of reason or caution. But having someone like me in the forefront, leading, I don't think is beneficial right now" (Sylvia 2, 08:10–09:26).

She and Tholi both brought up the historical master frame again when talking about the future of Fallism at UP. While Tholi states that the older generations were "willing to die" for the cause, possibly more desperate, radical, or brave, Sylia narrates herself to already be a part of an older generation of Fallists. It is interesting how she connects caution and reason with her experiences and, at the same time, makes them out as a valid reason for stepping back from leadership positions. She suggests that the future of Fallism lies in radical courage and action, not in precaution and "thinking it through" (Sylvia 2, 08:44).
Decolonising education means decolonising South Africa (Mbembe 2016). While nobody expects this mission to be easy, Fallist utopia calls for new cycles of protest, new generations of activists to come and continue the struggle that has never ended. Talking about possibility, here are some examples of motivational framing:

> "Certain, certain goals, or a certain kind of justice, for me (.) are important. That of land, that of rape culture, and that of accessing university, getting out of the townships, redistribution of resources in South Africa, so I think that if those things kind of (..) get addressed and get solved then (.) we miiight be moving towards (.) a certain kind of utopia" (Bolanle 1, 09:45–10:38).

> “It (…) It's the end point. Where (...) I think as any activist you strive to reach (...) a level where (...) the playing field is you-know equal. Strictly. When you say equal, in the strictest sense. Whether you're speaking about gender, whether you're speaking about class, whether you're speaking about race... And you-know we all start at zero. I think it's (...) yeah that, for me, is Utopia <smiles>” (Milis'uthando, Changing Utopias 02:25–02:53).

The most prominent code I could assign to the subcategory of *Fallist future* was the issue of and the need for *unity*. The political divisions of 2016 have been widely narrated as counterproductive. Even Marcus, enthusiastic EFF supporter and advocate of oppositional tactics, held a strong motivational speech on his commitment to unity:

> “You see, if everyone was to stand up, every! black person, and say, you-know-what, whether I'm EFF, whether I'm ANC, whether I'm P, A, S, C, D, U, F, G, whatever, if they would stand up now and say, i believe in this change! then this utopia could become reality. (..) I think, yeah, the fight for economic freedom (..) is gonna (...) take much longer to realise. Compared to the fight for political freedom. Cause we've seen that (..) to get rid of Apartheid times (.) it took two hundred years! to fight for political freedom. And now, because it's hitting straight into the pockets of (.) white people (..) that's gonna (...) remain to be an issue and a lot of people are gonna be divided. Because the rich people will try (.) by everything (.) to divide us” (Marcus, 40:12–42:13).

4. Free Education

In this final section of the thesis, the analysis of section three will be summarized and linked once more to the theoretical background gathered during the research and film project. It marks the end point of this project and dares a conclusion and outlook, underpinned by the feedback of Kagiso Mogotsi and many of the interviewed activists. A lot has happened in South African politics since I left Pretoria last year, with the election of a new president and big changes being announced in the education sector. Therefore, the following conclusion can merely provide a snapshot, seeking to capture only one moment in time, only one chapter in the ongoing quest for Fallist utopia. Concerned with the future, it has already become a memory.

4. 1. Conclusion

“Fees Must Fall as a radical and uncompromising movement has undoubtedly shaken the foundations of South Africa” (Xaba 2017:96). The intersectional approach of Fallism and the capacity to build a unified national movement among students have been among its many strengths, while mobilizing a broader public was identified as major task for upcoming protests. When I started to approach Fees Must Fall through social media, online newspapers, and academic journals and books, as laid out in subsection 1. 1, it was the movement's utopias that stood out to me and became the main reason for me to plan a research project and travel to Pretoria. The interconnections between postcolonial theory and feminism embedded in the foundation of Fallism, as well as my own standpoint as a white German anthropologist, influenced my decision to strive to become

a militant researcher. In my hope to find a way to support Fallist activism, I decided to start a protest film project. Luckily, I met Kagiso and we were able to earn the trust of a number of activists, supporting our vision of a militant documentary film. I am grateful and honoured when I recapture these times, for I have learned a lot and could find many answers to my questions, while navigating the complexity of the movement and the impossibility of absolute answers in the realm of utopia.

Wright's concept of *real utopias*, introduced in subsection 1. 4., has proven to be an interesting and useful tool for militant research, as it focuses on the visions deemed achievable by activists (Wright 2012). To define utopia as a reachable goal is, however, very uncommon and as much as following such a definition in itself is an act of opposition, especially in a system that is narrated as being without alternative, it is still not a common definition for activists to use or even be familiar with. While the struggle for a broader or more “real” definition of the term Utopia and the appropriation of the term can be part of a social movement's agenda, this was only the case for some of the Fallist activists I spoke to. Some told me the term Utopia did not resonate with them at all. As with any theoretical concept introduced to their field by anthropologists, there needs to be an awareness and possibly a translation or the willingness to change or redefine those terms according to the realities of their field. Regarding Appadurai's notion of the privileged and powerful's “capacity to aspire”, I would argue primarily based on subsections 1. 4 and 3. 3, that while greater access to education and therefore greater access to thoughts and theories about the future might foster a growth of this capacity, the existential necessity of imagination as a tool of survival can further this capacity amidst the least privileged. When the privilege of education meets a biography of class, gender, and race discrimination, Fallists have proven that their capacity to aspire utopia is beyond what more privileged South Africans have come up with in the past decades. Forthwith, I would like to emphasize on the argument made by Wagner-Lawlor and Ashcroft, saying that feminism and decolonial struggles are both in themselves manifestations of utopian imagination (Wagner-Lawlor 2013:186; Ashcroft 2017:202). While the capacities to aspire might be growing with a more privileged access to education, these struggles would not exist if their capacities could not also evolve in struggles for bare survival that frame utopia as inevitable motivational. In future research on Fallism, these questions of utopia as an anthropological concept could be processed further.

Free, decolonized education – “that is the sunshine and sunflowers of Fees Must Fall” (Karabo, Changing Utopias 06:29–06:33). How is this education imagined and what do students think needs to be done in order to pave the way? In the beginning of Fees Must Fall, the answer to this question was easy, the demands clearly listed in the 2015 memorandums and focused on the abolishment of university fees. Very *real* utopias, thirteen steps in the way of getting a more just education system and a less racist UP. In listing those demands and in fighting for them steadfast for months, risking physical and psychological safety and individual futures for the dream of utopia, Fallists have empowered themselves through several *frame alignments*. Sometimes adopted, sometimes countered by public discourses, Fees Must Fall has aligned itself over and over to what I have called the Historical Master Frame of South African liberation and

decolonisation. In subsection 3. 2 activists have provided various examples of alignment narratives – in the protest film we have also used images, songs, and collage techniques to foster this alignment. Both film and research have been dominated by interviews, therefore narrative framing has been the focal point. So how do Fallist activists at UP frame their movement as within a broader historical and political struggle for South African utopia?

Following the definition of Johnston and Noakes, every frame that calls for collective action must be diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational (Johnston/Noakes 2005:10). The diagnosis of Fallism entails a dismantling of the Rainbow Nation, a deconstruction of the notion that South African utopia had already been achieved in 1994. By calling out the many injustices and inequalities inside the education system, and the structural racism still deeply anchored in university institutions, Fallists took the plaster off a long festering gunshot wound and demanded society to look. In order to heal, they claim that decolonial justice needs to be restored. Consequently, the struggle for free education does and can not stop at the demand for a falling of university fees. In the alignment to the master frame, Fallists engaged in a new way of memory work, viewing their oppression as a continuation of colonial and Apartheid oppression fought by their parents and grandparents. Albeit many activists of an older generation seemed to be hurt by their apparent ungratefulness and would rather have their children and grandchildren focus on getting a degree to help the family climb up the social ladder, I never encountered ungratefulness in any of our interviews. In fact, I was often surprised by the reverence activists would engage in when talking about their *struggle heroes*. Without a certain level of admiration for those heroes of the past, the self-assertion inside this master frame would not be as essential to Fallism as it appears.

Yet, the urgency in which Fallists are calling for a new cycle of protest can be considered a critique of two decades of Rainbow Nation stagnation. At the University of Pretoria, students were faced with a miniature model of South African society and prevailing white supremacy. Forthwith, UP management became an analogy for the South African elites, the campus a matrix of postcolonial power structures. Similar to UP management which had been doing very little to provide a utopian place for anyone who is not white, the allegedly Born Frees have called out the ANC government to not having done enough, or to have failed their promises of “a better life for all” (Raghavan 2012). Immersed in conflicted political parties, Fallism has been used to challenge the dominance of the ANC in the pre-election period of 2016 and early 2017. Additionally, the critical Fallist diagnosis includes inter-generational conflicts, a disappointment in the legacy of the activists' parents linked to the disappointment in the state.

Kagiso and I have called our film *Changing Utopias?* and asked our interview participants if they considered the Fallist movement and its utopias to be in any way different from former anti-apartheid struggles. While we aimed strongly towards an alignment with the Historical Master Frame and constituted the new and old utopias as very much alike, it became obvious that several components of Fallism differ from earlier South African movements. Beginning with the prognosis' coinage of possible solutions, Fallists are aware that they have “greater access” to academia, politics, and capital than any decolonial South African movement ever before (Milis'uthando 2, 00:00–00:18).

Though joining forces with workers in the fight to end outsourcing on campuses, Fallism has been widely constituted by academics. On the one hand, these comparatively privileged positions have helped them to make their voices heard, but on the other hand, the Born Free Generation's greater capacity to aspire has constituted new identities of resistance that struggle to be understood by their families and fellow South Africans.

One key feature of changing utopias is the radical intersectional feminism and queer visibility that is not only cosmetic, but fundamental to Fallism (Godsell/Chikane 2016:59). Both diagnosis and prognosis, the framing of feminism and diversity is a vital part of the Fallist decolonisation project and asks for the movement's ongoing self-critique. Activists like Bolanle understand *doing memory* as an important first step to create more visibility for women and LGBTIQA+ in history, but also emphasizing on their presence in the movement. In statements like the earlier quoted “Dear history: This revolution has women, queers, gays, and trans. Remember that!”, activists are doing memory in the present and for a future that will hopefully not just be a continuation of the past (UCT: Rhodes Must Fall 2015). Fallist intersectional feminism forges an overlapping of time, an awareness of time's circularity, where when the past is remembered differently in the present, the future might change towards utopia. Compared to the general Fallist framing as merely a new cycle of protest in an extension of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles of the past, feminist *doing memory* rather aligns the movement to the ongoing struggle for women and LGBTIQA+ rights. It questions the norms of masculinity, of protesting, of violence inside the movement. Going one step further, Fallist feminism challenges not only the utopian Rainbow Nation frame of the last two decades, but also the heroism of the *struggle heroes* of the last two centuries.

In its relationship to government, UP management becomes again a mirror for the “militarised” state that adopts violent strategies to oppress an intersectional movement but is not able to protect women and LGBTIQA+ from everyday violence and rape (Xaba 2017:96). “The police presence at Wits at the time is just a different shade of patriarchy” (Zinhle Manzini 2017:78). UP is more concerned about protecting its white students and property than it is worried about the high level of violence black women and LGBTIQA+ have to face. According to the activists, even though they have spent a lot of time and energy on educating management, telling them what they would need in order to “feel safe”, the institution's reactions can be reduced to mere lip service (Karabo 3, 12:03–12:14). Again, demands have been very *real* and precise, but when talking to black queer women like Karabo, utopia seems far out of reach (Karabo, Changing Utopias 01:28–01:34). Instead, they are faced with violence even inside their own movements – and are at the same time used to construct an outer appearance and image of non-violence.

As portrayed in subsections 1. 1 and 3. 4, questions of violence have been at the core of the South African discussions around Fallism and appear to shape the movement's future. Sliding into motivational framing, all our interviewed activists were in great solidarity with the violent protest actions of their peers. Some even seemed embarrassed or annoyed with UP's student body being comparatively unready to employ more radical protest tactics. At the same time, they did not hide their psychological scars inflicted through arrests and violent campus security. All the violence seemed to have taken its toll, while always asking for a reaction. According to Fallist framing, at the

beginning of this vicious violent circle stands structural and systemic *injustice*, *inequality*, and oppression that black students feel objected to every day. Nevertheless, feminists and LGBTIQA+ are amongst the loudest voices demanding and searching for new ways of protesting, seeing how hyper masculine toxicity influences the movement, turning it into a mere reflection of the violence they are opposing.

In conclusion, the utopias of Fallism are still based upon equality, justice, decolonisation, and liberation from oppression – but they are being interpreted anew, the words filled with fresh meaning. UP activists, in their aim for motivational framing, are still talking about re-evaluation and learning. Beyond the base line fitting well into the Historical Master Frame, there can never be one Fallist utopia, as the movement is an ever-changing and self-challenging conglomerate of the values, hopes and dreams of a new South African generation. Tomorrow will show, if this generation will be unified once more, if they will be able to mobilize under one hashtag, one vision, thirteen demands, or if they will remain divided. In every way, all the activists I got to know during my time in Pretoria said that they are going to continue their struggle and, just like Bam in the final shot of our film, I believe that if they will, change might take on different forms, but it will be “inevitable” (Bam, Changing Utopias 22:42–23:36).

4. 2. Outlook

Personally, I am going to walk the road of militant research and film making for as long as I can. It has been an intense and challenging time and I have failed to reach its full utopian potential, enthused in subsection 1. 3: Activists could have been more involved in the structuring and editing of the film; the main purpose and promise of the project, to reach a larger international audience by uploading the film online, could not be held; the present thesis did not derive from an experimental co-writing process. Therefore, I would be blissed for more chances to learn and I hope that the trend towards an engaged anthropology will carry on to encourage new and militant research tools. Additionally, in my opinion an anthropology of the future will continue to become more and more important to this militant mission, with activist's growing endeavour to further their capacities to aspire through research. What else happened with the protest film, once the project was done? Karabo told me in a WhatsApp conversation at the end of February this year that she was going to show the film at a talk on peaceful protesting at Wits. Several activists are planning to use the film in the future but are not yet sure how. They are also involved in a number of new projects, like feminist networking for example, or party politics. Some have left UP with a degree, others are resuming their studies at other institutions with more “political culture” (Tholi, Changing Utopias 04:47).

There have been a lot of political changes since the beginning of Rhodes Must Fall in 2015. Lastly, in December 2017, Zuma announced “free university education” for all new first year students from families that earn less than R350,000 per year and the Treasury committed to provide the necessary funding (Sobuwa 2018). Activists told me about the chaos that erupted when hundreds of aspirant students were assembling in front of the entrances of UP and other universities, waiting for the president's promise to

come true. Also in December 2017, Cyril Ramaphosa was elected new leader of the ANC and will most likely replace Zuma after the governmental election coming up in 2019 (Winning/Macharia 2017). During the months to follow his announcement, it became obvious that Zuma's promise would be broken, or at least adjourned. Supposedly starting in 2018, and following an implementation period to 2022, it was announced that “the government will come up with a plan to pay for NSFAS and 'missing middle' students through a bursary programme” (Staff Writer 2018). At the University of Pretoria, fees were increased by eight percent in a “muddle of fees being presented to the public, with no real clarity on who is paying what” (Staff Writer 2018). Since before the beginning of Fees Must Fall, university fees in South Africa have generally risen between twenty-five and thirty-five percent in the four years from 2014 until the present day, despite the student uprisings[20].

At UCT, students resumed protesting in October 2017, during the planning of the universities' budget for the next year. Classes were disrupted and students demanded “clearance of historical debt for 2017 and no financial barriers to registration for 2018”, reminding the vice chancellor of the memorandum he had signed in 2015 (Mabuza 2017). Nationally though, Fallist protests have not yet seen a revival. Some of the former student leaders are still fighting in court or dealing with suspensions (Ground Up 2018). Others, like the UP activists who participated in the film project, are now focusing on their own career or other political projects (Sobuwa 2018). It seems like Sylvia was right when she argued for the need of a new generation of activists to ring in and lead the next cycle of protest (Sylvia 2, 08:10–09:26). Will there be a change in tactics, without the cautionary voice of an older generation of activists who are now growing out of university structures? In which ways are upcoming movements going to incorporate not only the anti-apartheid struggles, but also the struggles of Fallism into their framing and strategies? “Decolonisation, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder” is a quote of French philosopher and revolutionary Franz Fanon, which I have heard several times when talking to students about their framing and self-construction (Fanon 1963:36). In the fight for utopia, will burning to be heard become the main mode of activism, or will it vanish among yet to be developed inclusive, intersectional, or non-violent strategies?

> “Burning can't be the point of departure, cause we haven't tried all the other options. Maybe I'm still a bit too rational, maybe I'm not radical enough (..) but I think being radical doesn't mean you shouldn't be responsible. You-know, you can be radical all you want but you need to have foresight and think about the effects of what you are doing! If we are saying, it's time to burn, then are we saying, let's burn it all, burn everything? Cause it's easier to quote (.) your Franz Fanon, but also (.) quote in context! We have to be aware of the context that we're in” (Tholi 2, 09:27–10:17).

20 Comparable fee charts can be found in Appendix G.

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6. Appendix

Appendix A: Timeline of Fallist Actions and Events

2015 – The Beginning and Heights of the National Protests

March	The Rhodes Must Fall campaign starts with Chumani Maxwele throwing human faeces onto the statue of Sir Cecil Rhodes at the entrance of UCT campus on the 9th of March. In the following week, UCT administrative headquarters are occupied during several spontaneous protest actions. Wits students join the campaign through #TransformWits and all over the country, student activists follow their example. At UP, UPrising is founded.
April	At the University of Stellenbosch (US), the Open Stellenbosch Movement challenges the hegemony of white Afrikaaner culture. Students meet in growing numbers to protest on campus and share their stories of racist abuse and their struggles with learning under a language policy that favours Afrikaans speakers. The issue is taken to the national domain and trends on social media.
27-29 May	Workers and students occupy the Wits vice-chancellors office in protest against the lack of response by university management in the dismissal of outsourced electrical workers. Wits settles by paying the workers outstanding wages, but refuses to insource them.
August	Protests grow louder and bigger, suspensions of students at Wits are further accumulating revolt potential.
14-16 September	Rioting at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) leads to campus closure for two days.
2-17 October	The Wits revolt reaches its height with thousands of students gathering across party political affiliations to march against outsourcing and later staging a sit-in for affordable campus accommodation. Wits management starts negotiating, but announces that student fees would still be raised by 10,5% in 2016. Students start a systematic shutdown, constituting the formal start of #FeesMustFall, taking the vice chancellor and Wits Executive Team members hostage. Finally, an agreement is signed in which the fee increase is suspended and disciplinary actions are promised not to be taken against participating students or staff members.
19 October	Fees Must Fall protests spreads to all campuses around the country. UCT management secures a court interdict against protestors and calls riot police to evict students forcibly. UP students plan to lock down three

	of the UP campuses on 21 October.
20 October	Nzimande meets with university chancellors at the Western Cape Parliament. He announces a 6% cap on the increase of 2016 fees. Wits students reject the compromise proposal, demanding that there should be no increase at all. UCT students march to Rondebosch police station to demand the release of fellow students. Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) students shut down their campus. FH students go into lock-down, refusing to sit for exams. US students hand a memorandum of grievances to university management.
21 October	National Fees Must Fall shutdown. More than 5000 students assemble at UP and march to the Union Buildings, attempting a sit-in on the steps of the parliament. When they gain access to parliamentary grounds, they are forcibly removed through stun grenades, riot shields and batons. Several are arrested or charged directly with treason. Nzimande tries to address the crowd but is booed away. On campuses, police also uses rubber bullets and teargas to break up the protesting crowds. At Sol Plaatje University in Kimberley, chaos erupts and students throw stones at the police.
22 October	Students march in masses on the ANC's Luthuli House downtown Johannesburg headquarters, forcing ANC secretary general Mantashe to listen to them and receive their memo. They demand a no-fee-increase for 2016, free quality education and no outsourcing of staff at universities. In Cape Town, students gather at the magistrates' court for the appearance of 29 arrested students.
23 October	In Pretoria, invited student leaders and university chancellors meet with president Zuma. Outside the Union Buildings, large numbers of students assemble. From inside the complex, Zuma announces a 0% fee increase for 2016, but free education and an end of outsourcing are both off the table. He refuses to meet the crowd outside. Riots, including the burning of police vehicles, break out in downtown Pretoria. The police disperses the protestors with rubber bullets and teargas. In Durban, more than 6000 students march through the city to ANC regional headquarters.
24-31 October	Student formations across the country take stock and a number of higher education campuses postpone examinations; some close for the summer vacation. Protests against outsourcing continue on several campuses, including UP, where Fees Must Fall lists 13 demands. The UP Memorandum can be found in Appendix C.
November	Wits management commits in principle to insourcing and the creation of a task team to work out the modalities. The children of outsourced

	workers are allowed to entry Wits on academic grounds and study there for free. Classes resume and catch-up falls into place across South Africa. Multiple examinations are disrupted, rescheduled or postponed. At most sites and at UP, exams unfold under heightened security, services are often rendered controversially by private security firms.

2016 – The Struggle Continues and Diversifies, Focus on the Events Happening at UP

January	The movement enters the face of securing free post-secondary education for poor students. Campuses increase private security. At UP and many other universities, campuses are shut down by worker-student action against outsourcing.
16-17 February	UP is closed after a worker protest. EFF and Afriforum Youth clash over Afrikaans as language of instruction. At the same time, protests at UCT and Wits reach a new level of violence with fire-bombs being thrown and art works seen as colonial relicts being burned on campus. North-West University (NWU) protest in-cludes the use of petrol bombs. Fallists vow to continue their protest until the universities commit to a 'clear decolonisation project' with several demands, including a bettering of the ac-commodation situation – many newly arrived students are camp-ing in libraries and other campus facilities – and a curriculum change.
18-19 February	At UP, a fund-raising campaign is launched by the Student Repre-sentative Council (SRC) to raise 10 million Rand for education fees for poor students from the missing middle. Two of three campuses close while demonstrators clash and burn tyres. Police use rubber bullets to disperse students at the Hatfield campus. 14 students are arrested and held at the Brooklyn police station.
March	UP management adopts a more inclusive language policy, after legal defeat in court.

The data for this timeline has been gathered through various sources, namely Booysen (2016a, 318–327), Wikipedia contributors (2015), newspaper articles and interviewed activists at UP. It is by no means exhaustive of Fallist protest actions in South Africa and can merely function as a rough guideline for temporal classification.

Appendix B: Interview Questionnaire

Interview questions for Fees Must Fall activists:

1. What does utopia mean for you?
2. What is your idea of a utopian society?
3. What is needed to make utopia possible within South Africa?
4. Do you think South Africa is on the right track to get to a more utopian state?
5. What do you think is the most urgent political issue in South Africa right now?
6. What have you been doing / what are you doing personally to achieve these goals? Do / did you consider yourself an activist?
7. What is Fees Must Fall for you?
8. What is the utopia of Fees Must Fall / is there a common vision?
9. Why / how did you get involved?
10. What were your personal experiences with the movement?
11. Do you think these utopias have changed since the anti-apartheid struggles? How / Why / Why not?
12. If you could get the chance to talk to an older generation of anti-apartheid activists, what would you tell them?

Interview questions for older generation of activists:

1. What does utopia mean for you?
2. What is needed to make utopia possible within South African society?
3. Do you think South Africa is on the right track to get to a more utopian state?
4. What do you think is the most urgent political issue in South Africa right now?
5. Could you describe your living conditions under the Apartheid government?
6. How did it affect your overall quality of life?
7. At the time, what was your vision of a perfect world? What did you do to get there? Did you consider yourself an activist?
8. Could you describe how the education system operated during Apartheid, compared to today?
9. Talking about the recent student protests, what do you think of Fees Must Fall?
10. What do you think is the utopia of Fees Must Fall?
11. Do you think these visions for a better South Africa have changed since the anti-apartheid struggles? How / Why / Why not?
12. If you could get the chance to talk to a younger generation of Fees Must Fall activists, what would you tell them?

Appendix C: UP Fees Must Fall Memorandum

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UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

MEMORADUM OF AGREEMENT

made and entered into by and between

The Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of Pretoria, Prof CM de la Rey

The President of the Student Representative of Council, Mr Mosibudi Rasethaba

#UPrising

EFF SC (UP Branch)

PYA (UP)

The parties hereby agree:

(i) to the terms as set out in the University's three responses to the demands of #UPrising, EFF SC (UP Branch), PYA (UP Branch) and the Student Representative Council of the University of Pretoria;

(ii) that the substantive issues have been dealt with;

(iii) that the University Management will implement the agreements made in the said responses; and

(iv) that all the student parties commit to the continuation of the academic programme on 27 October 2015 without any further delay or disruptions.

Signed at Pretoria on 26 October 2015

Name in print: **Prof CM de la Rey, Vice-Chancellor and Principal**

C. de la Rey

Signature

Name in print: **Mr M Rasethaba, SRC President**

Signature

Page 2/7:

Name in print: Tumelo Rasebopye
#UPrising

Signature

Name in print: Sam Mphuti
EFF SC (UP Branch)

Signature

Name in print: Sylvia Graham
PYA (UP Branch)

Signature

Response to the demands as put forth by Tuks Uprising

On 23 October 2015 the Vice-Chancellor and Principal attended a meeting of vice-chancellors and leaders of student councils convened by President Zuma at the Union Buildings. The meeting lasted several hours and after deliberation between all stakeholders President Zuma announced that:

1. there would be a zero percent (0%) increase in student fees for 2016;
2. university Vice-Chancellors would extend the time for the examination period to compensate for time lost during the protest action;
3. long-term issues to be addressed include free education, institutional autonomy, racism, and what students call "black debt"; and
4. the Presidential Task Team that has been established to address funding mechanisms will be broadened to look at these and broader transformation issues affecting higher education.

In response to the remainder of your list of demands, as submitted on 21 October 2015, the VC and management will meet with the Student Representative Council on 26 October 2015 and continue to engage the stakeholders in this regard.

1. We demand free education

As a public university, the University of Pretoria is not in a position to give any undertakings on behalf of government on the provision of free education.

2. We demand no fee increment (zero percent) across the board

In line with the outcomes of the meeting with the President, the University commits itself to a 0% increase in its fees for all students for 2016. This includes initial payments, residence accommodation and meal fees and tuition.

3. We demand that no person(s) participating in the mass protest action be victims and/or prosecuted by the University or its affiliates.

The University agrees to this, provided that students continue to behave responsibly. We appreciate the measure of order and discipline the leaders managed to maintain through the course of the week.

4. We demand that provision be made for students participating in this mass protest action to catch up on any academic activity which was disrupted and/or missed as a result of said action.

It is important to get the University operational again as soon as possible because the year-end examinations are looming. The University has already looked at the tentative rescheduling of the programme, extending the academic year by one week.

If the academic business does not resume next week, the year may be compromised.

5. **We demand that Food Services (TuksRes) must decrease their prices to be market competitive. In the interim, we are launching an investigation with the Competition Commission, as well as the office of the Public Protector in order to follow up.**

The 0% increase on fees will also extend to meal fees.

The University will also look into our food services model to see where improvements can be made to accommodate students.

We take note of and welcome your intention to launch an investigation with the Competition Commission and the Public Protector.

6. **We demand that any and all financial decisions impacting on students must be proposed to students no later than September each year.**

The University agrees to this demand.

7. **We demand that a student's financial status shall have no bearing on their ability to retain their Residence placement.**

All students who owe residence fees, must make financial arrangements to deal with their debt to be exempted from reservation levies. Each case is dealt with on an individual student by student basis.

8. **We demand that every person who is deemed fit for financial aid, as per the NSFAS criteria, receive such financial aid from the University.**

There is not enough funding from NSFAS to fund all students who meet the criteria. The Vice-Chancellor will engage NSFAS and the DHET on funding issues and increasing the allocation to the University of Pretoria.

9. **We demand the removal of application fees as well as the residence levy fee.**

This matter forms part of the bigger debate on fee-free education. If the University receives more funds from the government it may be possible to consider the situation.

10. We demand that a seat be allocated to a student representative on the Standing Committee of the Council.

This would require the amendment of the Statute of the University of Pretoria. The Vice-Chancellor will put the matter to Council at its meeting in November 2015.

11. We demand no interest rate (zero percent) on any outstanding fees owed by a student.

This will form part of the bigger debate.

12. We demand no registration fee.

As indicated above, the University will keep its registration fees in all categories for 2016 unchanged at the levels charged in 2015. The students who are working class will be exempted from registration fee as an upfront payment.

13. We demand that Council convenes and ratifies this document in our presence.

This is the responsibility of the Vice-Chancellor and Principal. In accordance with the Higher Education Act the Vice-Chancellor and Principal is responsible for the Management of the University.

C. de la Rey

Prof CM de la Rey
VICE-CHANCELLOR AND PRINCIPAL

24 October 2015

26 October 2015

President and members of the SRC
#UPrising
EFF SC (UP Branch)
PYA (UP)

Dear student leaders,

Further clarification of responses

I refer to your further communication and a meeting held with student leaders this morning.

Regarding the communication that is not clear enough, here is the response to the three issues discussed with the President and members of the SRC and other student leaders in separate meetings this morning:

- All students who qualify for NSFAS and who were not assisted will be assisted, using the additional funds the University has made available. For all new students in 2016 the University is committed to assisting once statistics are available.

- Students in residences who are financially disadvantaged will not be excluded from residences on the basis of their financial disadvantage.

- Where food prices are not market related food prices will be decreased.

I trust that this clarifies the matter for all students.

Since the substantive issues have been dealt with, I request that all student parties resolve to commit to the continuation of the academic programme as soon as possible without further disruptions.

Prof CM de la Rey
Vice-Chancellor and Principal

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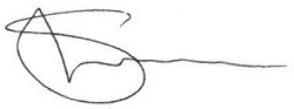
The Vice-Chancellor has agreed to:

1. Monopoly, Food prices and competition, wider choices, a new model and affordability
2. How to define working class versus wealthy students, as defined by family income
3. Outsourcing – a commission to look at, consultation with all stakeholders. Reps of workers
4. Contractors should be paid, not penalised for the strike not lose money – no leave days will apply for time lost due to protest
5. Request for only one language for tuition – English – to consult with the Senate, and the Council, and stakeholders, including the DHET; there will be a written report before the end of the year
6. Transport to Sunnyside, students have to propose the route
7. Agreements with Prof Visser should be revived – address so that students are allocated affordable accommodation and not Hatfield Studios
8. Outstanding fees no interest to be charged
9. Res students Food allocations for the exam period to students who have run out of meal funds
10. Intervene on behalf of UP students at the Fields
11. Develop a programme to listen to students

Based on the above agreement and all agreements in relation to the Memorandum, the Vice-Chancellor together with #UPrising, EFFSC, PYA agree that classes will commence on Tuesday, 27 October 2015

Prof CM de la Rey 

#UPrising 

EFFSC 

PYA 

SRC President 

Appendix D: List of Transcription Keys

<xxx>	The person talking makes a remarkable gesture or sound, the xxx here function as a placeholder for its literal description. For example: <laughs loudly>. Sometimes, the narrator accompanies a word or a speech with certain gestures or facial expressions. This is indicated as such: <<with a breaking voice> I don't even want to remember>.
(...)	Speech pauses are indicated as such: (.) signifies a small pause, (..) a longer pause, and (...) a very long pause.
x-x	When talking fast, words sometimes fade into each other. This is illustrated through an hyphen, for example: you-know.
!	Similarly to the rules of orthography, an exclamation mark is used when the speaker emphasizes strongly and / or loudly on something, though it does not necessarily indicate the ending of a sentence. For example: It's capitalism! that's the problem here.
?	Alike the !, the question mark is used when a person asks a question while ending with a higher pitched voice. For example: When will the sun shine again?
,	The comma is used to show the beginning of a new thought, topic, sentence, or quotation of the narrator, while the pitch of the voice remains the same. It can be accompanied by a small pause, for example: We were all waiting for the rain, we were waiting and waiting, it took forever.
.	A period marks the end of a sentence or speech and is always accompanied by a lowering of the voice and followed by a pause.
/ xxx /	In the transcript of the film, the xxx are a placeholder for the picture or sequence shown on the screen. It focuses on visualisation and text.

Appendix E: Transcript of Film Audio

Time	Person	Content
00:00 – 00:12	Sarafina Soundtrack	/black screen/
00:12 – 00:27	Journalist woman 1	The leaders of the struggle abroad or locked behind bars, it was their children who took up the fight. And in June, 1976, black school children in Soweto took to the streets in protest. This event changed the course of South African history (...) Forever.
00:27 – 00:31	Sarafina Soundtrack	/black screen/
00:32 – 00:42	Journalist woman 2	The situation at the University of Pretoria got tense as students demonstrating against Afrikaans, being used as a medium of instruction, clashed with members of Afriforum Youth.
00:43 – 00:49	Afriforum Youth	<<shouting> Afrikaans soll bleybn! Afrikaans soll bleybn!>
00:50 – 00:55	Journalist woman 2	Demonstrators say, money spent on Afrikaans lectures could be better spend elsewhere.
00:55 – 00:58	Sarafina Soundtrack	/black screen/
00:59 – 01:01	Z.	The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!
01:01 – 01:08	M.	The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture. To honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.
01:09 – 01:14	Friend of M.	Education shall be free, compulsory, universal, and equal for all children.
01:15 – 01:22	J.	Higher education and technical training shall be open to all, by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit!
01:22 – 01:27	Sarafina Soundtrack	/Changing Utopias? A South African Documentary

		Located at the University of Pretoria/
01:28 – 01:34	Karabo	Utopia for South Africa (...) uh (...) I feel like so much of a pessimist right now.
01:35 – 01:55	Bolanle	(...) Let me think on it. But then it's something about the land going back, or become more nationalised instead of being more privatised. At it not being (...) people not getting rewarded for what (...) was <<making quotation marks with her fingers> stolen>.
01:57 – 02:24	Sylvia	A Utopian South Africa is an honest South Africa. Honest about our past, honest about where we come from. Honest about (...) the lived experiences of people currently and a (...) an appreciation of what people go through daily. And not, in a sense, pushing aside the lived experiences of people, the daily struggles of people. Acknowledging them and collectively working towards resolving the issues that present.
02:25 – 02:53	Milis'uthando	It (…) It's the end point. Where (...) I think as any activist you strive to reach (...) a level where (...) the playing field is you-know equal. Strictly. When you say equal, in the strictest sense. Whether you're speaking about gender, whether you're speaking about class, whether you're speaking about race... And you-know we all start at zero. I think it's (...) yeah that, for me, is Utopia. <smiles>
02:54 – 03:21	Karabo	As (...) Karabo. I don't need to feel like I need to fight every time I walk into a space. First, because I'm a woman. Then I'm black, then I'm <swallows> queer, and then it's all these things and then it's just like (...) Do I? Do I? Then (...) you give up. So my Utopia is (...) not having to fight for an existence in a South Africa that's (...) where you are supposed to feel like you belong to.
03:21 – 03:53	Milis'uthando	Utopia (...) in South Africa (...) will take (...) <laughs> maybe a couple of hundred years. It's definitely not in my life time. Ah because we have to undo (...) (you know) the structural inequalities caused by Apartheid, caused by colonialism and slavery. So undoing that, those are (...) three systems that were meant to last forever. You-know those were systems that were entrenched in our society to ensure that you-know (...) white people always dominated.
03:53 – 04:10	Bam	That's how I visualise Utopia. It's almost like a dream, you see. Or a vision. But whether you will achieve it (...) It's

		another thing. You know you need tools, you need ah finances, you need logistics, you need (...) people to do the job.
04:11 – 04:45	FMF students singing	/UPrising poster, then UP protest pictures in the background/
04:24 – 04:48	Tholi	It was the day we went to Union Buildings. Nationally. So it was a national Fees Must Fall on that day. National shutdown, moving to Union Buildings. So when there was 17 000 people, I think for us it was a big achievement. Especially at Tuks, I mean, it can happen at Wits or wherever, that's normal. But because it's Tuks (...) I think for me that was one of the happiest moments where my heart just smiled and actually couldn't believe it. And how you saw the solidarity amongst students! Everybody on that day got along and (...) like you got a glimpse of what it would look at if there was actually any political culture at the institution.
04:49 – 05:08	Milis'uthando	This is our generational mission. That we have collectively decided on. And let's embark on that march. Let's go meet the president.
05:09 – 05:51	Marcus	It is something that happens, when you oppress people. Because when you look at the Apartheid (...) times (...) people had been trying to go to the government and engage and trying to solve these issues. But (...) every day they were being oppressed more and more. Every day. New laws were being passed every time, to try and oppress these people. And it got to a point where (...) they were pushed to a corner where they said you know what. The only way we can get away from this corner is not if we talk. But we need to push, to get away from this corner. And that's what students have been trying to do. To say that, we've been cornered to a point where (...) we can't even talk. We can't even express our issues. We can't even try and engage these people. Because (...) we don't have leverage to do so. So now it's time to push. It's time to do something, it is time to stand up.
05:52 – 06:15	Sylvia	What is was, as it happened, and what it continues to be (...) is (...) a show or a display (...) of the character of the Born Free Generation. The so called Born Free Generation. It (...) I think it came as a shock, but shouldn't have come as

		a shock. This, this was waiting to happen.
06:16 – 06:22	Soph	So (...) what are the visions, what are the Utopias of Fees Must Fall?
06:23 – 06:33	Karabo	You're not seeing it there, but Fees Must Fall is still there. Utopia is (...) free education. That is the sunshine and sunflowers of Fees Must Fall.
06:34 – 06:46	Sylvia	So luckily, the sacrifices made by my parents were enough. But other parents also sacrificed and you find that it's not enough. But it's our responsibility to pull our peers up and ensure that they're given (...) a fighting chance.
06:47 – 07:25	Marcus	Change the system of the university (...) For us (...) to be able to accommodate everyone. That, that's the main goal. To try and accommodate (...) as many black students. Cause right now, there's a large number of students who (...) where I come from personally, who (...) have great marks, who have nineties and eighties and a lot of distinctions. But a lot of them cannot be in this system because they cannot afford to be in the system. But you see a large number of white people who (...) with fifties and sixties (...) who, they are in the system because they can afford to be in the system. So (...) we are trying to remove (...) that uhm (...) that factor of money.
07:26 – 07:38	L.	I know very well, what it means (...) to be poor and (...) to not have opportunities because you don't have money. You can't, for me it's just not possible. To have poor people have to paying fees in this country.
07:39 – 07:50	Reyaah	Like some kids come from townships. And then, when they get to Varsity and stuff, we have to go to aim, when we find that (...) kids don't even know how to use computers and everything. And then they tell you that if you fail aim, you fail!
07:51 – 07:56	Marcus	Cause the educational system itself. It is (...) it is pro-white. It is anti-black.
07:57 – 08:08	Sylvia	Cause Tuks (...) is an institution that is very insulated. From social realities. And from what happens on the outside. It's almost (...) like a Utopia. <laughs> If I can put it that way. <<Soph: For Afrikaaner people?>> <<laughs louder> For Afrikaaner people!>
08:09 –	Milis'uthando	Once you reach that point of burning. Once you reach that

08:33		point of breaking things and throwing stones and agitating police (...) That is a sign of deep concern. That is a sign of (...) you know, of deep oppression. That you, you're kind of venting out. And (...) that's exactly what those students were doing. And (...) it's pain! It's black pain.
08:34 – 08:57	Bolanle	So it's always good to have goals, but (...) even within our own movements of Fees Must Fall and stuff like that, we say, we operate under the same Hashtag and say that this is our goal. But, the imagining of what fees falling is, differs (...) from campus to campus and from individual to individual, so it becomes very tricky to then imagine a Utopia that could be sufficient for all.
08:58 – 09:28	Sylvia	We came together and created something, called the Central Committee. And in the Central Committee, we had representations from different parties but when we spoke to Management, we spoke as a Central Committee. EFF didn't speak, ANC Youth League didn't speak, UPrising speak, but the Central Committee spoke. And that (...) I think yielded quite a lot of results. In comparison to what we saw (...) late last year. Where political organisations couldn't find each other.
09:29 – 10:51	Tholi	Cause we were still at the Brooklyn Police Station. Now we're going and they're actually going to an actual prison. And then they spend like months there. The number of them that has been arrested, I mean, there was one, Boninkosi from UK that was in there (...) who spent Christmas there. Who had been there for over five, six months, I'm not quite sure. For Fees Must Fall. So with us, we had it easy. It was just one night. And, I'm not saying, I'm not taking it for granted, but I'm just saying, it could have been worse. There were people who were in there for weeks. And, you know what I mean. There were people who were actually fetched from their houses. <<Soph: Yeah, I heard that too>> So (...) it got out of control. And I think that's another reason why people have almost taken a step back. Cause I mean your family then starts to say hey, I can see where this is going. We are already struggling to pay for your fees (...) So, you need to decide, do you really want to do this. And also because, as a black child, you have to do so much for your family. You can't just be selfish and say, this is for me. At the end of the day, I'm not here just for me. I must go back and support my family and look after my dad at some

		point (...) As opposed to a white child, who can come to university, get a degree, and continue with their lives. My degree is not just for me. That's the reality. It's for my whole black family that's at home. So then (...) <<Soph: You can't put it on the line>> yeah then I'm putting their food on the line. And (...) them going to school one day on the line. So it's not really just about me.
10:52 – 11:16	Marcus	A lot of people have distanced themselves. Even personally, you lose a lot of friends, ehm, you lose a lot of (...) close people and (...) it even puts you in a very compromising position with your family. Because your family has (...) you come from a poor family, they put you in an institution that is high rated and they say, get a degree so that you can help us to get out of this poverty.
11:17 – 12:48	Bolanle	Dismantling certain institutions and certain (...) ehm (...) structural inequalities, is a process of decolonisation itself. Decolonisation, I don't think, is just this whole thing of rhetoric: We speak decolonisation, it must be like this, it must be like that. It is (...) It is actively breaking down certain constructions and making (...) and making sure that those, who (...) have a past of oppression, those who have a past that has been (...) tailored to (...) to bring them down, or to wear them down (...) now are in there and they're showing their own agency and they're showing their own power and saying that this is, this system can work for us! In such and such a manner. So decolonisation is more than what we read on text. It's about the every single day lives that we are living. For instance, the whole thing of Afrikaans falling within the University of Pretoria. It may have not fallen <<makes quotation marks with her fingers> per se>, because of the whole quote system which was never! on the side of the majority of South Africans anyways (...) ehm, is a process of decolonisation, it's just that it's not branded with decolonisation, but if you were to really look! at what decolonisation at least entails, in this postcolonial South African context, you would see that (...) a lot of daily small moments compounded together, actually work as a decolonial tool...
12:49 – 14:04	Milis'uthando	So I'm in the transition. Of going from a student activist to a community activist. And I'm in (...) trying to battle, you know, what are issues of a student and what are issues of a community. And, I mean, we live in a (...) you-know in a

		community, where the land you-know is owned by (...) our oppressors. I think, when you speak about Hatfield, already you know that the University of Pretoria owns like half of it. And you navigate these spaces and where do you fit in? Where is your agency, aside from being a student that's in (...) you-know in the university. How do you interact with the rest of the community outside the student community. And (...) I mean it's been quite, you-know difficult because (...) you realize that you don't have access to anything. You don't have a say in your community. You don't have say in terms of (...) you-know what building gets brought up, how is it going to empower youth people. And, we are literally meant to be in here, for a couple of years, in Hatfield that is, for a couple of years and we leave. And we have no connection, you-know with ourselves! You-know with the land, with the people...
14:05 – 15:19	ANC Choir	/pictures of old struggles/
14:15 – 15:10	Anna	You couldn't just get into a supermarket and push your trolley. You had to stand at the window in a long queue and just give a list, I mean (...) call out one sugar, two, one tin of jam, even in some shops you were not allowed to fit on clothes (...) and in the post office and in the government buildings there were two separate entrances. Blacks one side, Whites one side. Because they wanted all the subjects to be taught in Afrikaans. And it was a problem for, for us, cause we are not Afrikaans speaking (...) Blacks were mostly limited to be nurses, teachers, that was (...) or a priest. Those were the few, the only three professions where we were directed into.
15:11 – 15:16	Bam	And that Bantu education system, it still has its impacts, up even-up-until today.
15:21 – 15:28	Kagiso	Considering changing visions: Do you think Utopias in South Africa have changed?
15:30 – 16:01	Mbuyiseni	From the Statues Must Fall to the Fees Must Fall movement: We salute these gallon fighters and affirm their determination, resilience, and unity, which brought the ANC government kicking and screaming, in that soprano voice of Blade Nzimande to agree on zero percent free increment in 2016. The ANC's motion, that we sit here today and debate youth

		empowerment reflects their slow pace in understanding the revolutionary tramclock of social change.
16:02 – 16:10	Blade	If they don't accept this we start our own movement. <<laughs> Students must fall!> <long laughter>
16:11 – 16:44	Bolanle	No. (...) I don't think, I don't think they have changed. At all. Actually. (...) ehm (...) They really haven't changed, I mean the (...) June 16 and 1976 and the other, the other years to follow, were years, similar to this. Basic education of course now can be free, ehm, which was the call that they were making there, but I think that to just reduce it to that is (...) overly simplifying it. They were speaking about the same thing that we are saying now.
16:45 – 17:17	Sylvia	That there is absolutely nothing wrong with what we are doing. They did the same thing. But now because they're older, and they are (...) in a sense more comfortable and, you-know, life becomes more acceptable. The state of being becomes more acceptable. What we see becomes more acceptable. For them. For us it isn't. (...) And for them it wasn't, then. So that's probably, what I'd say that (...) We are reminding you, of what you! started!
17:18 – 17:49	Bam	Soweto 1976. That youth that same. Was saying, we are not doing anything. For the freedom of this country. (...) But, the freedom was attained, wasn't it. After, as a result of that. So as I'm saying, everything has its time. Even the youth today. They be angry. Twenty years from now there'll be another youth, their children. They are saying (...) something different. You understand. But, by that time, maybe, the economy would be back in our hands!
17:50 – 18:17	Karabo	We still need to deal with the fact that (...) The Rainbow Nation is not a thing! It doesn't exist, it's (...) there, by theory, but it's never been there. We still need to deal with (...) ehm reparations. We need to deal with everything that hasn't been dealt with. Because, what I keep saying is that what happened in (...) from 1990 to 1994 was that (...) they took a gunshot wound, and put a plaster over it. And then (...) we had to move on
18:18 – 18:34	Anna	Because they are still people living in slums. They are still people without eh accommodation, proper accommodation, sanitation, drinking water (...) and more lack of jobs! now.
18:35 –	L.	So they also didn't do much. To actually reparate. What the

18:42		legacy. Has done.
18:43 – 18:59	Reyaah	But you're actually fooled. You're still a poor black person. And that's like, eighty percent of black people, while (…) out of that eighty percent, five percent are actually empowered. But we're actually fooled by the system where, one or two black people are empowered, we think that we are actually empowered. Well, we're not.
19:01 – 19:58	Bam	Whether it's the old generation, or the new generation, the youth. We need to sit down. Cause we all have different visions! The youth are angry, because they accuse us of having done nothing. But we are saying, we have done something, at least you have freedom. Because you can't have everything (...) at once. At the same time. It's impossible, yes. The only way you can do that if it's a violent (...) overthrow of a system. <<Soph: And then it's still the question. Of what happens after that>> Hmhm, that! If it's a violent overthrow then it will take even more years (...) to to get the economy, to get back education, because everything would have been destroyed, isn't-it. (...) So so (...) it's a process. Let me put it that way. It's a process. And (…) as I'm saying, we are in a dialogue now, we are debating a lot! White monopolic capital, black monopolic capital, corruption. It's all (...) part of the same thing.
19:59 – 20:10	Marcus	That is one issue that I have is (...) that we are not seeing these activists that were there during Apartheid, standing up with us today, being with us on the picket lines and raising these issues. <<Soph: and that would be good, if they were?>> Definitely! <smiles>
20:11 – 20:24	Tholi	So what I'd say to them is that (...) we are not irrational human beings. We understand (...) what it means and what we have to lose. And it's not easy, I think above all we need their support more than anything.
20:25 – 20:41	Bam	You-see that's the kind of discussion. I will, I know they might call you names, like no you're a sell-out, you can't (...) but I'll say it's fine! But if tomorrow you are given those opportunities to implement, I know you are not going to be able to implement them. Cause you don't have the (...) the skills.
20:42 –	Milis'uthando	During Apartheid with the (...) ehm, our struggle heroes or

21:07		the liberators. They had a more patriarchal (...) setting. You-know politics! is patriarchal and for them it was more dominant and it was (...) you-know (…) extremely, you knew that if the ANC was to release a statement, or any other political party was to release a statement, it would be a male, a black man.
21:08 – 21:36	Tholi	I think females also were (...) tired and they decided that they actually want to now speak on their own and handle their own issues cause we've spent so much time being <<making quotation marks with her fingers> protected>, by the black male or the male rather in society, cause that's what patriarchy (...) dictates or you-know-what-i-mean the social arrangements that we find ourselves in. it's definitely a new thing! And for me, <nods repeatedly> it was a very crucial moment in history that females were now able to stand up and speak about it!
21:37 – 22:40	Bolanle	For society to change, the structure of higher education in South Africa needs to also follow suit. And that (...) did not happen and as a result, the composition of society then and now is still the same, in other ways. It's just that now we can walk around without being questioned where are you, without being questioned about your pass and without being tortured by (...) the state. Ehm (...) but generally I think that the call remains the same and, ehm (...) the African elites are actually (...) really really (...) uh, hurting the future of I-think South African people by (...) by the way in which there are going about their democracy. And it's not to say that, it's not to suggest or say that a lot hasn't been done. ANC has done so much! That's why, I'm a member of it! I've seen its changes within my community. My mom tells me about it, my grandmother tells me about it. But I think that right now (...) more has to be done.
22:42 – 23:36	Bam	We haven't reached a place where there are only two options. It's either this way or that way (…) we haven't reached that. We are still talking. You-see that's why, Corrdesa Number Two, is a (...) an economic corrdesa. That's the eh, it's supposed to take place. <<Soph: It's an interesting time for this country.>> It is! It is. It's veery very interesting time. It is. And I just wish to eh, I wonder if I'll see the changes taking place because (...) change is inevitable. It will take place. You-see. How? I don't know. When? Nobody knows. But (...) it's coming!

		<<Soph: Do you still consider yourself an activist, today? Or is that something of the past and now you are more like eh settled and (...) a father...>> <laughs> Let me tell you something. (...) eehh (...) What will happen to you, if you stop breathing?
23:37 – 24:41	Sarafina Soundtrack	/Credits/

Appendix F: Screening Invitation Poster

Changing Utopias?

Documentary Screening you can't miss!

Celebrate Youth Month!

20 JUNE 2017
CHANGING UTOPIAS?

Documentary Screening

Come and Join us as we celebrate Youth Month by engaging in an inter-generational dialogue. We will be screening our documentary film for the very first. Please stay for a round of feedback and discussion afterwards. Refreshments will be provided. Looking forward to seeing you there!

Department of Historical and Heritage Studies

University of Pretoria

Humanities Building 18-26

Seminar Room

cnr Lynnwood Road and Roper Street

Hatfield

South Africa

082 094 1524/082 515 0181

www.up.ac.za

20 June 2017

17:15 for 17:30

Appendix G: Comparable Fee Charts, 2014 and 2018

The fees sourced include the following undergraduate degrees: Bachelor of Commerce (BCom); Bachelor of Arts (BA); Bachelor of Science (BSc); Bachelor of Law (LLB, undergraduate); Bachelor of Science/Engineering (BEng). Fees are typically charged per module needed to make up the credits of a given degree, thus the fees represented below give the broader idea of the cost of a single year of study, rather than a comprehensive overview.

2014

University	BCom	BA	BSc	LLB	BEng
University of Cape Town	R44,000 – R56,000	R41,500	R45,000	R42,000	R46,500 – R48,000
University of the Witwatersrand	R37,400 – R39,130	R30,580 – R39,380	R37,340	R29,500	R36,500 – R45,050
Stellenbosch University	R29,093	R30,125	R37,218	R36,074	R40,637
University of Pretoria	R34,720 – R39,610	R27,750 – R32,500	R35,260 – R44,740	R31,800	R35,270 – R43,670
University of Kwa-Zulu Natal	R31,226	R36,557	R27,619 – R35,358	R29,098	R34,798 – R35,101

Source: (Staff Writer 2014).

2018

University	BCom	BA	BSc	LLB	BEng
University of Cape Town	R64,890	R53,440	R58,400	R54,350	R61,220
University of the Witwatersrand	R46,795	R44,890	R47,920	R43,640	R61,810
Stellenbosch University	R41,030	R39,696	R48,096	R47,270	R55,296
University of Pretoria	R45,360	R38,880	R47,520	R39,960	R49,680
University of Kwa-Zulu Natal	R36,580	R38,500	R38,300	R37,758	R44,700

Source: (Staff Writer 2018).